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Hoggar

600

Six Months among the Ahaggar Tuareg
(Six Mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar)

by Maurice Benhazera

Algiers, 1908

Typographie Adolphe Jourdan

Translated from the French by Anne R. Coleman

Human Relations Area Files

1960

/Title Page/

4: Benhazera--i G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

Table of Contents

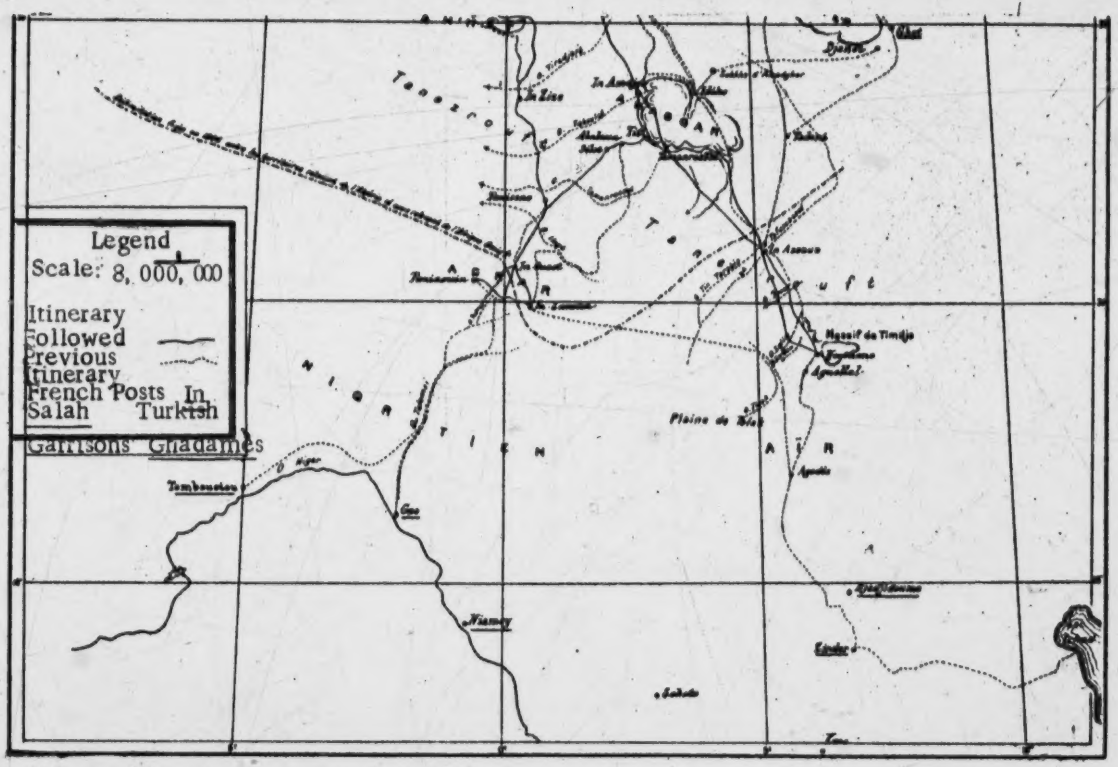
		Page
Book One		
The Tuareg in their Private and Public Life		1
Part One		
The Tuareg in their Private Life		1
Chapter I.	Birth. Childhood	1
Chapter II.	Circumcision	3
Chapter III.	Puberty	3
Chapter IV.	Musical Gatherings	4
Chapter V.	The Role of the Woman in Tuareg Society	8
Chapter VI.	Proposal of Marriage	11
Chapter VII.	Marriage	12
Chapter VIII.	Divorce	15
Chapter IX.	Adultery	16
Chapter X.	Games	17
Chapter XI.	Death. Burial. Graves	19
Chapter XII.	Mourning	20
Chapter XIII.	Inheritance. Succession	21
Chapter XIV.	The Home. The Tent	21
Chapter XV.	Food	24
Chapter XVI.	Hygiene. Diseases	27
Chapter XVII.	Negroes and Negresses	28
Chapter XVIII	Clothing. The Veil	31
Chapter XIX.	The Woman's Saddle	35
Chapter XX.	Education	36
Part Two		
The Tuareg in their Public Life		40
Chapter I.	Nobles and Imr'ad	40
Chapter II.	The Tobol. Inheritance	42

4: Benhazera--iiG-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

Table of Contents (cont'd)

		Page
Chapter III.	The Amenokal. The Amr'ar	45
Chapter IV.	The Tioussé	47
Chapter V.	The Raid. The Loot. Its Restitution	48
Chapter VI.	War	50
Chapter VII.	Religion. Marabouts. The Fast. Religious Orders	50
Chapter VIII.	Superstitions. Beliefs	52
Chapter IX.	Stock Raising. Flocks	56
Chapter X.	Trade. Caravans. Market Prices	58
	Market Prices in the Ahaggar	60
	Market Prices in the Ahnet	60
Chapter XI.	Industry. Blacksmiths	62
Chapter XII.	Agriculture. Ar'erems	63
Chapter XIII.	Ancient Graves. Upright Stones	67

4: Benhazera--iii C-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



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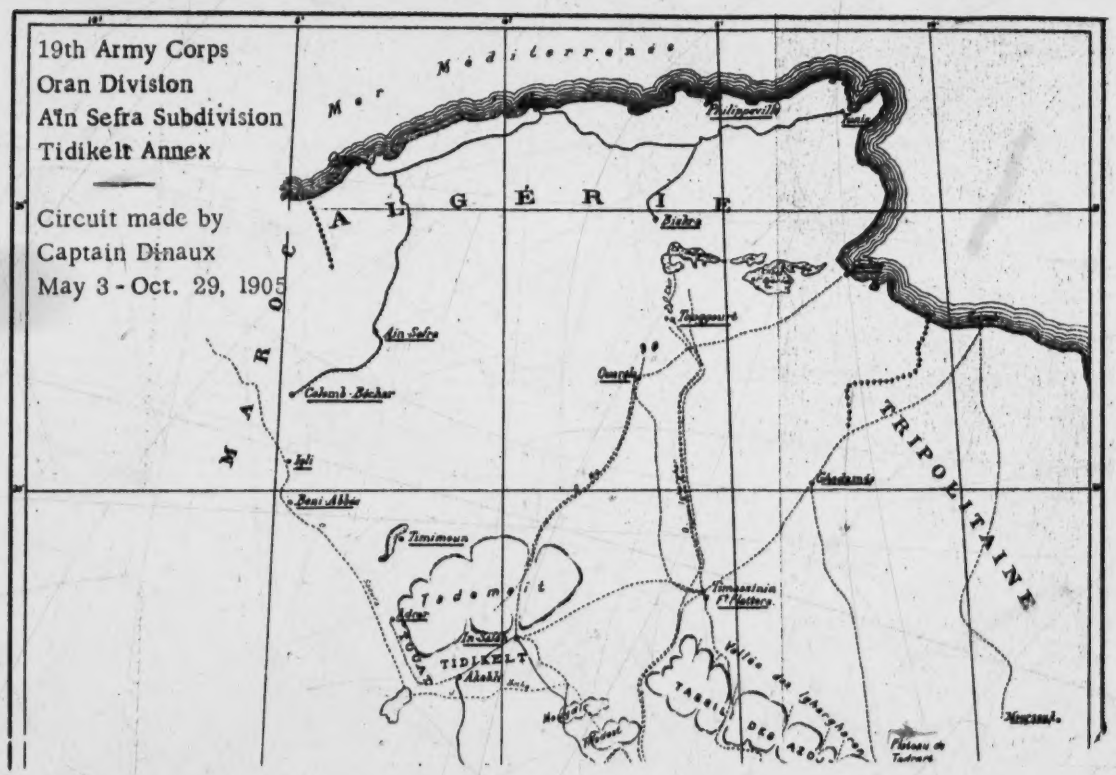
102
131
133
646

4: Benhazera--iv G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

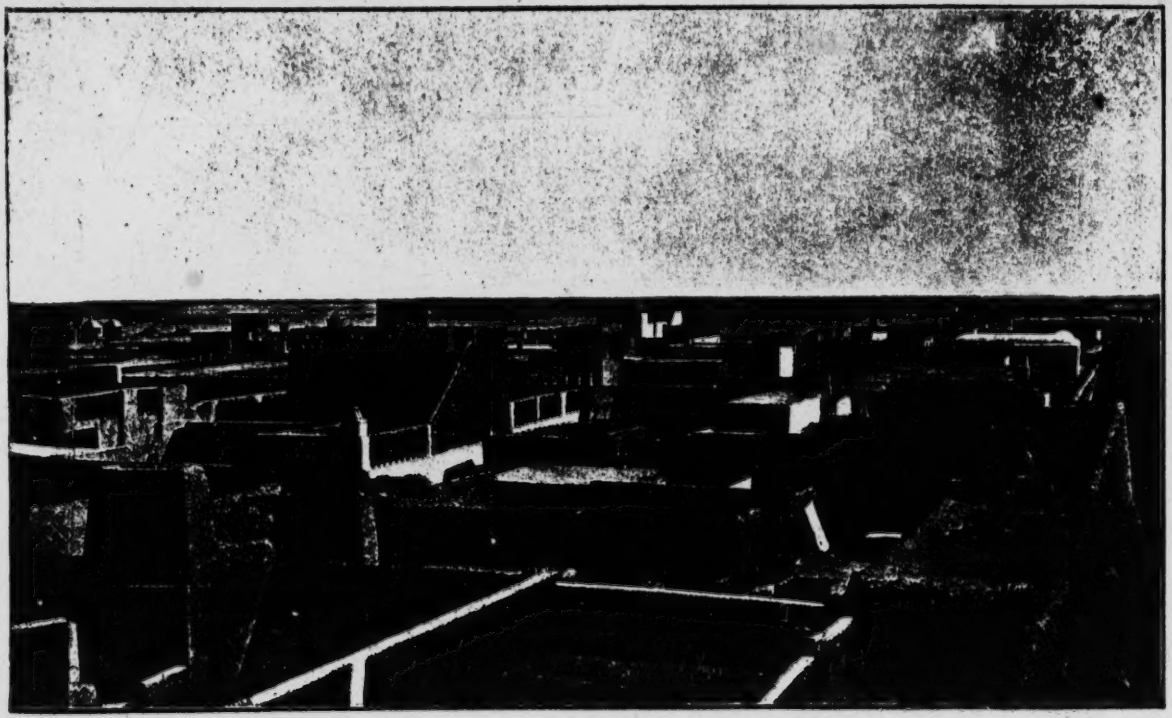


102
131
133
948

4: Benhazera--v G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

Panorama of the Casbah (fortress) and the Village of Adrar, Command Post of the Saharan Oases Territory.

4: Benhazera--vi G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar



Panorama of the Casbah (fortress) and the Village of Adrar, Command Post of the Saharan Oases Territory.

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4: Benhazera--vii G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

TAMASHEK ALPHABET

104
212

Method of Transcription Adopted

Forms of the Letters	Names	Value	Arabic Equivalents	Observations
•	t'arerit	A I OU	ا و ي	
ⵒ ⵔ ⵕ ⵖ	ieb	B	ب	
+	iet	T	ت	
ⵊ	iej	J	ج	With the Kel Rela
ⵅ ⵅ	iekh	KH	خ	Spanish J
ⵄ ⵏ ⵐ ⵓ	ied	D	د	
ⵠ	iez	Z (soft)	between ذ and ز	
ⵔ ⵕ	ier	R	ر	
ⵙ ⵚ	ies	S	س	
ⵛ	iech	CH	ش	
ⵜ	iedh	DH	ص	
+ⵜ	iedht (iett)	TT	ط	
ⵣ	iezz	Z' or ZZ	between ز and ظ	
ⵖ	ier'	R'	غ	(1)

(1) The transcription by R' is preferable to that by GH, which is generally used. In fact it is best to write R'adamès, R'ardaïa

104
212

Forms of the Letters	Names	Value	Arabic Equivalents	Observations
ⵡ ⵉ ⵀ	ief	F	ف	
ⵇ	ieq	Q	ق	
ⴽ	iek	K	ك	
ⵍ	iel	L	ل	
ⵎ	iemm	M	م	
ⵏ	ienn	N	ن	
ⵀ	ieh	H (aspirate)	ه	
ⵓ	ieou	OU	و	
ⵢ ⵉ ⵢ	iey	Y	ي	
ⵊ	iej	j	ج	Among the Taïtoq
ⵖ	iegue	Gu (before e, i); G (before a, o, u)	غ	
ⵊ	iedj	Dj	between ج and غ	Special pronunciation

Radamès and Rardaïa, than to write Ghadamès and Ghardaïa and pronounce Gadamès and Gardaïa. The first transcription is closer to the true pronunciation.

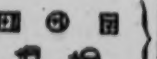
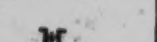
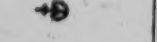
Note: The Arab ح (H') has no equivalent in Tamashek. The Tuareg always pronounce it KH (خ) Thus they say Mokhammed for Mohammed; El Khadj for El Hadj.

The Arabic ع (âa) no longer has an equivalent in Tamashek. The Tuareg always pronounce it R' (غ). Thus they say R'ali for Ali; br'ir for bâïr. /xix/

4: Benhazera--ix G-5 (1905)1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

COMPOSITE LETTERS

104
212

Forms	Names	Value	Arabic Equivalents
	iebt	bt	بت
	iejt	jt	جت
	iert	rt	رت
	ieft	ft	فت
	iemt	mt	مت
	iecht	cht	شت
	iennt	nt	نت
	ielt	lt	لت
	iest	st	ست
	iezzt	zt	زت
	iennb	nb	نب
	iennd	nd	ند
	iennġue	ng	نڭ
	ienn	nn	نن
	iennk	nk	نك

104

Arab or Tamashek Words Used in this Study

Abetor' ..... Waterskin.
Abser' ..... Acacia arabica.
Afezzou ..... Panicum turgidum. Graminaceae.
Aguezzeram .. Star lizard.
Ahal ..... Musical meeting.
Akh. ..... Milk.
Alhinen ..... Genii.
Amenokal ... Chief of a confederation of Tuareg tribes.
Amezar' ..... Group of several tents, a douar.
Amr'ar ..... Chief of a noble tribe or of an imr'ad fraction.
Amr'id ..... Tributary, bondsman, client. Subject to a noble to whom he pays a tribute. In the plural: imr'ad.
Amz'ad ..... A kind of violin with a single string.
Anou ..... A well.
Ar'ata ..... Varan, a large lizard. Synonym: ourane, uran.
Aremmas .... Atriplex halimus. Salsolaceae.
Ar'er ..... Shield.
Az'ekka ..... Grave.
Bazina ..... Ancient grave, shaped like a small tower.
Bechna ..... White-grain sorghum. Graminaceae.
Berdi ..... Typha angustifolia. Typhaceae.
Bir ..... A well.
Botta ..... Box of hide made in the A'ir. It is made in all sizes. /xxii/

104

Chegga ..... Blue cotton cloth, dyed with indigo which comes off easily.
Chemma ..... Snuff.
Chih ..... Artemisia herba-alba. Composeae.
Chouchat .... Ancient grave in the shape of a truncated cone.
Diss ..... Imperata cylindrica. Graminaceae.
Djinns ..... Genii.
Djohala ..... Pagans.
Dobb ..... Star lizard.
Drinn ..... Arthraterum pungens. Graminaceae.
Ethel ..... Tamarix articulata. Tamaricaceae.
El yatil ..... A kind of acacia.
Gueto/ ..... Atriplex halimus. Salsolaceae.
Guerba ..... Waterskin.
Had ..... Cornulaca monacantha. Salsolaceae.
Haïk ..... Garment. A long, narrow piece of woolen cloth.
Haouli ..... Synonym for haïk.
Harratine .. Colored men, mulattoes. In the singular: hartani.
Hegueb ..... Camel-hair rope which serves to hold on a mehari saddle.
Ibiiar' ..... Waterskins.
Ihaggaren .. Nobles.
Ihallen ..... Musical meetings. Plural of ahat.
Ikerhi ..... Tuareg woman's veil.
Imr'ad ..... Clients, tributaries, who pay a tribute to the nobles. In the singular: amr'id.
Imz'aden ... Plural of amz'ad, a kind of violin with a single string.
Inelli ..... White-grain sorghum. Graminaceae.
Ir'atimen ... Sandals made in the Aïr. Habitual Tuareg footgear.
Izabbaren .. Ogres. Plural of zabbar.
Iz'ekouane .. Graves. Plural of az'ekka.
Kehal ..... Black material which is used for face veils.
Kel Esouf ... People of the void, or ghosts. /xxiii/

Kessa .....Synonym for haïk.
Mahmoudi...White cotton cloth.
Malti.....Unbleached calico.
Merokba.....Panicum turgidum. Graminaceae.
Mezoued.....Leather bag in the shape of a waterskin for holding food provisions.
Mitqal.....Piece of money. Value 2.50 francs.
Oudi.....Butter.
Ourane.....Varan, a large lizard.
R'ouaouet...Pagans.
Sebkha.....Salt lake, salt pit. /Also sebka in English./
Taba.....Smoking tobacco.
Tadjart.....A kind of acacia.
Tadjethé.....Violin, "amz'ad," bow.
Tagalt.....Bride price.
Taheli.....Typha angustifolia. Typhaceae.
Takouba....Large double-edged Tuareg saber.
Tamaheq....Name of the language spoken by the northern Tuareg.
Tamat.....A kind of acacia.
Tanekfaït....Diplotaxis duveyrierana. Cruciferae.
Tchoqqit.....Name for chegga in Tamashek.
Teborak.....Balanites aegyptica. Simaroubaceae.
Teheredjelé...Artemisia herba-alba. Composeae.
Terik.....Mehari saddle.
Tidjelmoust..Face veil.
Tifinar's.....Term for the symbols of the Tamashek language.
Tikamarine..Dry cheeses from the Aïr.
Tioussé.....Tribute paid by the imr'ad to the nobles.
Tobol.....Group of tribes subject to the authority of the same chief. The right to command over the imr'ad and to the collecting of the tioussé.
Toulloult...Arthraterum pungens. Graminaceae.
Tounine....A well.
Zabbar.....Ogre.

4: Benhazera--1 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

Book One

The Tuareg in their Private and Public Life

Part One

The Tuareg in their Private Life

Chapter I

Birth. Childhood

In Tamashek, birth is called "tioulit" ⵜⵉⵡⵍⵉⵜ. There is no [844]
special observance to note concerning the birth of a child
among the Tuareg. However, there is greater joy if it is a [842]
boy. People come to congratulate the parents and, seven days [851]
later, the latter serve a more or less lavish feast, depending
on their means, the feast being preceded by the recitation of
the "fatiha" (first sura of the Koran). Those present who do [788]
not know Arabic limit themselves during this recitation to
holding their open hands together like a book. It is on this [533]
day that the child is given its name.

On this subject, I think I should note that especially [551]
among the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe of the Ahaggar), many [565]
children were given the names of wild beasts or animals.

Examples of Men's Names

Amellal, addax, meha /?/
Abeggui, jackal
Amayas, cheetah
Akhou, wild animal

551

Anr'eroubou, lion
Ahar, lion
Eknissi, hedgehog /4/
Akouti, rat
Amadjour, camel
Amder', giraffe, etc.

Examples of Women's Names
Tamerouelt, hare
Tahenkatt, gazelle
Tinirt, mohr antelope
Tamer'ouant, cowrie shell
Tadar'ine, grains (of wheat, barley, etc.)

In the course of this study there will be found many proper names of men and women which might give rise to interesting comparisons with names used among other Berber tribes of North Africa.

The Tuareg child is brought up heedlessly, with the negresses' children. It is chiefly the negress who takes care of him. He lives out-of-doors, often quite naked or hardly dressed, and his body is toughened early. During the nursing period the negress makes a kind of hammock out of an old haïk, the two ends of which are fastened to tree branches or to the tent pegs, and this kind of cradle is called "taoulioula" (from the verb "eouilaouel" , to swing). 854

While he is still very young, barely seven years old, the child is employed as a shepherd and acquits himself very well at his task. 857

Then, as soon as possible, he is perched on a mehari (racing camel), for he must know his regular mount thoroughly. [492 868] Young Harendou, an orphan of the Aoulimmiden /Aulliminden/, taken in by Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal of the Ahaggar, was already an excellent meharist at the age of ten. At his side he wore a "takouba" (saber) larger than himself of which he was very proud. /5/

Chapter II

Circumcision

In Tamashek, "azemhoud-n-baradhen" (circumcision of children) ⵜⴰⵣⵎⵃⵓⴷ ⵏ ⵜⵉⵔⴰⴷⵏ from the verb "ezmahad" ⵣⵎⵃⴷ, to circumcise. 304 852

There is no set age for circumcision; generally it is carried out after the age of five.

The operator is summoned to the amazar' (douar), and all the people present take part in the operation, carried out as follows:

The operator holds the foreskin with a bit of "saâf" (djerid or palm leaf) and cuts it with a well-sharpened knife. To cicatrize the wound, it is dusted with leaves of atle (Tamarix articulata) and skins of dried pomegranates ground to powder. Then it is washed with camel urine, and all painful contact is avoided by means of splints held by strings fastened behind the back. [278] [237]

Then there is a feast: a sheep's throat is cut, and it is eaten by the guests.

Chapter III

Puberty

In Tamashek, "tamendjott" ⵜⴰⵎⴻⵏⵊⵓⵜ. As soon as he is of an age to fast, that is to say, as soon as he has reached puberty, the boy begins to wear the "tidjelmoust" ⵜⵉⵊⵍⵎⵓⵙⵜ veil which he will never leave off thereafter. 882 291

As to the girl, a celebration is held as soon as she reaches 881
the age of puberty, that is to say, at the start of her menses,
in Tamashek /6/ "ba-n-amoud" ⵎⵓⵏⴰⵎⵓⴷ (literally,
"cutting of prayer," since during her indisposition the woman [841]
is in a state of impurity and cannot pray). The young girl is [291]
dressed in her prettiest clothes, and on her head is placed a
black veil, "ikerhi" ⵉⴽⴻⵔⵀⵉ, which falls on either side of
her face without hiding it. She also never leaves it off.

If her parents are well-to-do, she will learn to play the 883
amz'ad ⵜⵎⵣⴰⴷ, an instrument which has an important [556]
place in Tuareg life. It is a kind of violin with a single string 534
whose box is made of a large "kabouia," or a dried and
scooped-out gourd, covered with a stretched hide and pierced
with two holes, which is provided with a handle. The string
is made of horsehair, "az'iou" ⵜⴰⵣⵉⵡ, as are the strings
of the bow, "tadjeṭhé" ⵜⴰⴷⵊⴻⵟⵀⴻ, made of a stick bent into
an arc.

It is chiefly an instrument to accompany singing. The [533]
woman slides her fingers over the string without pressing,
while working the bow; she prolongs the final phrases, which
are drawn out.

If a young girl knows how to play, she may shine at the [832]
musical gatherings, where she will be courted.

Chapter IV

Musical Gatherings

A young man and a young girl often go to meet together, 533
and this occurs especially in those gatherings which, to be 584
accurate, we will if you permit call "musical gatherings," and 832
which the Tuareg call "ahal" ⵜⴰⵀⴰⵍ, plural "ihallen" ⵉⵀⴰⵍⵍⴻⵏ.

/7/

The ahal takes place very often. All that is needed is for 533
a group of men and women to be gathered together in a camp. 584
Often a man comes from a considerable distance to court the 832
girl of his choice. When the year is good, that is to say, when [361]
the rains have brought the pastures to life and the camels are
giving much milk, several camps are set up close to each other,
and the ahal begins right after sunset.

The men of the camps gather with those who have come
especially because some woman attracts them. The women
bring their "imz'aden" violins. All those attend the ahal who [602]
are not afraid to be in the presence of one of their relatives
to whom they owe respect, such as a father, uncle, older
brother, etc. Young girls, married women, divorcées or widows,
all attend the ahal.

[361]

Dautheville

Tuareg Troup at Amr'a (Black Tifedest)

Gallantry, "asri" ⵙⵔⵉ , is required, and jealousy [577]
strictly prohibited. Besides, this latter feeling is unknown [626]
among the Tuareg, and if one of them should think of show-
ing it, he would be booed and everyone would make fun of
him.

When a Tuareg arrives at the ahal near a woman whom
he wishes to court, he approaches her with his veil carefully
lowered and does not greet her with the usual "essalamou r'

533
584
832
[576]

laïkoum" (May the greeting be on you!). Silently he holds his hand out to the woman in the Tuareg manner (that is to say, holding his hand /8/ out open flat and sliding it over the open hand of the woman), and he sits down, saying: "iselane" (What news?). If the woman answers: "elouane" (There is a lot), he begins to pay his court. The Tuareg are not very religious, and it sometimes happens that the woman asks such questions as: "Whom do you love more, God or me?"

The songs begin, and the imz'aden play the accompaniment. The men sing in snatches lines that they have composed on the charms of the ladies of their dreams, the feats that they have done, the raids in which they have taken part, or else satires on their enemies. The women extol courage. In general, a noble woman does not sing, but only plays the amz'ad.

There are three musical rhythms:

The "seyenine" /1 ⊙ rhythm, lively and quite fast, used among the Kel R'ela and the Taïtoq.

The "ahinena". /1 ⋮ rhythm, slow and drawn out like a chant, used especially among the Kel R'ela.

The "asaher" ⋮ ⊙ rhythm, used among the Tuareg of the Azdjer /Azjer/ confederation.

524
533
584
832

Then there are simple games. The women elect a "sultana," or queen; the men a "sultan," or king, who will inflict the punishments incurred and will set the fines to be paid. It is a context of wits. A man must be able to answer the questions asked. If, for example, to this question: "Whom do you like better, this one or that one?," he answers: "I prefer this one," he would be booed, would incur a punishment or pay a fine, and the woman who is preferred would be ridiculed by her companions, for one must not show preference openly but must answer, "I like them both."

Another kind of question: "What would you do if you found yourself in the following situation: /9/

524
533
584
832
[539]

"Tamott tekness
"Ehere iouof
"Talhett ter'tess
"Tir'irt touoss"

which means:

The woman who argues.
Flocks that scatter.
The she-ass that breaks her tether.
The pot that tips over.

In a joking way, to be a real wit, the man could answer: "If I should find myself in this situation, I would first gather the flock, I would re-tether the ass, I would put the pot back on the fire, and only then would I pay attention to the woman, " and there would be a chorus of indignant protests.

584
832

The woman makes it a point of honor to have as many admirers as possible. This is a proof that she is pretty and will not have trouble in getting married.

533
584
832

The ahal, begun after sunset, lasts quite late into the night, and the pale light that is shed by the stars allows shamelessness to have free rein. Although the married women joke and take part in the games, they behave themselves comparatively well. The others, however, may sit on the knees of their admirers. They kiss, but in a special way. Since the man must never uncover his mouth, he lowers his veil under his nose, and he piously smells the nose! of his loved one, who herself may kiss him. Even intimate handling (proh pudor! /oh, shame/) is allowed, which is never seen among the Arabs.

During these gatherings, when the amz'ad is played, it is listened to with great pleasure. This instrument has a way of exciting /10/ the Tuareg, who utter "Ouh! ouh!" as a sign of pleasure. They have even made a verb of it: isouhouh. [201]

But now is the time when the camels come from the pasture. They must be milked: that is the az'ouz'edj 'ǐ' ## (from ez'edj 'ǐ' ## , to milk). The women get up, and those present are given milk to drink. They will have to disperse. [272]

The men leave, the women go back into the tents, but the fortunate ones who have succeeded by means of assiduous courtship to touch the heart of their love, will soon come back secretly or will go to the place which has been appointed for them. Let us draw a veil!...

One might wonder what can become of the virtue of young girls with such customs. Almost always it has gone up in the air. But a Tuareg will not pay attention to this detail when it is a matter of getting married. He knows with what to be content: he has often profited by it. It is all the same to him.

The ahal is one of the reasons for late marriages among the Tuareg. Marriage requires expenditures upon which one does not decide until one has been able to acquire a little means, and that is why it is not unusual among the Tuareg to see men marry at the age of forty. With all he finds to entertain him, the Tuareg does not feel the need to get married. This does not mean that many do not marry around twenty-five, but in general a man marries quite late.

Farther on, in the little collection of songs, will appear the qualities which a man must have in order to succeed at the ahal, as well as the kind of songs which are sung there. /Not translated./ /11/

Chapter V

The Role of the Woman in Tuareg Society

At every step one sees the influence of the woman in Tuareg society. In Tuareg history, the inheritance, the life, the thought, and the behavior, everywhere her influence is felt.

In the matter of history, it is from her that the Tuareg says he is descended. Thus the nobles of the Ahaggar will tell

us that they are the descendants of a woman by the name of Tin Hinane. In the war which brought Azdjer and Ahaggar to arms, the tears of the Imanan women were the deciding factor in the Ahaggar taking up arms.

As to inheritance, it is known that this is handed down through the woman. It is from his mother that the son holds the right to command and to the collection of the "tioussé," or tribute from the "imr'ad," or serfs. Not only is the son noble or serf according as his mother is noble or serf regardless of the father's status, for "it is the womb that holds the child," but he also changes his tribe and becomes a member of his mother's tribe if she does not belong to the same one as her husband.

In life, the woman enjoys a freedom of conduct which is not customarily allowed in Moslem countries.

She does not veil her face like Moslem women except as a sign of respect, when she draws her veil, "ikerhi," over her face.

She goes freely to pay visits to her parents, uncles, aunts, etc., and since she sees them seldom because of the distances between camps, custom decrees that the relative who receives her visit should make her a present.

She has succeeded in maintaining monogamy, which is the rule among the Tuareg even though they are Moslems. /12/

Even though married she may have a man friend, "amidi" .V] , who sings her praises and makes verses for her, while she gives him something for his personal use. He is, in a way, her knight. Thus, although married, Dassine embroidered for her cousin, Moussa ag Amastane, the amenokal of the Ahaggar, the bridle and breast strap of his horse, while Moussa, without hesitation, recited before everyone the lines which he composed in her praise, and often received her visits.

In the absence of her husband she may receive a man who comes to chat with her and pay her a visit, without the husband, on his return, dreaming of being annoyed. Only adultery in flagrante delicto can justify the anger of the husband.

A married woman has possessions independent of those of her husband. Her camels bear her special mark, different from that of her husband. She does not take part in household work unless she wishes to do so. 422 562 592

She has the right not to follow her husband immediately after her marriage, but to camp near the tent of her parents for a year after her union, so that she can accustom herself gradually to the idea of separation. 562 591

To obtain a divorce, it is enough for her to refuse herself to her husband and to take refuge with her parents. 586

Almost all women, except the poor, have meharis as mounts and their individual saddles. 422 492 562

At the ahal, as we have seen, she rules as mistress.

Noble or serf, she has one or more negresses reponsible for the heavy work of the household and for the preparation of food. 357 562

It is she who is the more educated, for she knows better than her husband how to write and read the "tifinagh's" (names of the characters of Tamashek writing), and it is she who teaches her children to read. 212 562 868

She plays the amz'ad, the instrument for which the Tuareg have such a lively predilection. "When two groups come to blows and one of them is defeated, the victors cry to the vanquished this wild cry peculiar to the Tuareg: /13/ 533 562 726

'Hia! hia! hia!

'So there will be no amz'ad!'

"At the threat of the silence of the 'imz'aden' the vanquished return to the charge, so great is the fear of the women's unfavorable opinion." (Duveyrier).

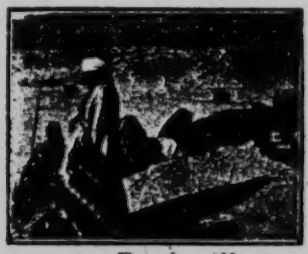
Nothing gives the Tuareg as much pleasure as for one to be interested in the deeds and ways of the women of their tribes. Thus one has only to speak of Dassine or of Mellouka, women who enjoy a great reputation for beauty and intelligence in the Ahaggar, to see a stiff attitude give way to great good humor 521 562 602

and gaiety, always on condition that the conversation does not take place in the presence of relatives to whom the Tuareg who is addressed owes respect. 521 562 602

The Tuareg woman intervenes effectively in quarrels between the men of her family and, in order to please her, reconciliation takes place. Thus it was thanks to Rakhma, sister of Moussa ag Amastane, that the latter became reconciled with his brother-in-law, Anaba ag Amellal. 562 [593 578]

In short, one may say that nothing is ever done or said among the Tuareg in which the influence of the woman is not found, always and everywhere, and this will be seen as the reading of this article continues. /14/

[291]



Dautheville
Tuareg Group in the Oued Ti-n-amadal Settafen (Tifedest).

Chapter VI

Proposal of Marriage

Proposal of marriage, "ibadrahen" ⵉⴱⴰⴷⵔⴰⵀⴻⵏ, is governed by a definite rule of procedure. 584

The suitor for a woman's hand sends marabouts, if there are any, to her parents, or tolbas, or, lacking these, influential people who state his request.

The proposal must be known to all the relatives of the woman without exception; they must all be notified and

their permission asked, even those who are far away. It would be very bad to marry a young girl without the knowledge of one of the members of her family. 584

Since a girl usually marries at twenty to twenty-five years, she is consulted. Even if she is a virgin and, as such, subject to parental authority according to Moslem law, she is usually not forced to marry against her will. If the case arises, she has only to refuse herself to her husband, and he does not insist but sends her back to her parents. [582]

Just as among the Arabs, a woman who has already been married must give her consent. [587]

Chapter VII

Marriage

Marriage, "adouben" ⵜⴰⴷⵓⴱⵏⵉ or "tedlout" ⵜⵜⴰⵍⵓⵜ has some quite curious features. 585

The proposal of marriage has been accepted. The day of the wedding has been set. If a quite influential noble is getting married, the wedding /15/ will have many guests. If it is an "amr'id" (serf), the celebration will be much simpler and more private, but the ceremonies and songs will be the same. [554]

The men guests, mounted on their best meharis, arrayed in their most beautiful clothes and finest arms, arrive at the bride's camp where the wedding is to take place. The women go to the bride's home with their "imz'aden" (violins) and their "tobol" (drums).

If the women are poor they go there by donkey; if they are rich they arrive by mehari, in their saddles which are shaped like sedan chairs and of which we will find a description below. [492 556 562]

The celebration begins about one o'clock in the afternoon. The men saddle their meharis and the camel-back games, "iloudjan foull imnas" ⵉⵍⵓⴷⵊⴰⵏ ⴼⵓⵍ ⵉⵎⵏⴰⵙ , will begin. The women gather, beat their tobol, sing and play the amz'ad to excite the riders. The latter, in groups of two or more, abandon themselves to a wild race on their meharis, which they throw into a gallop. 585 [541] [533]

During this time the bride, hidden at the home of her maternal aunt or a relative on the maternal side, must veil her eyes and not watch the games. If by mischance she should look at one of the riders, he would fall, and there would be an accident. [752]

As to the groom, he does not take part in the games. Mounted on a white mehari, "ebidedj" ⵉⴱⵉⴷⴻⵊ , he is present beside one of his friends, but he must remain impassive, his face carefully veiled.

The games last until sunset.

At this point two "tolbas" and two friends of the groom go to find the bride's father, if she is still a virgin, or the woman herself if she has already been married, to ask him or her to name a representative. The groom is also asked to name his representative.

These two representatives meet with the tolbas and the friends, and the marriage is contracted. It is at this time that the bride price, /16/ "tagalt" ⵜⴳⴰⵍⵜ , is set. For nobles it consists, as a rule, of seven camels; for imr'ad it may consist, depending on their means, of one camel or several sheep or goats. The groom pays part of the bride price: one or two camels if he is a noble; three or four sheep if he is an amr'id and if he is not rich; the rest he owes. The animals which have been paid have their throats cut and provide the wedding feast. Then the "fatiha" (first sura of the Koran) is read to call divine blessing on the newlyweds. 583 585 [554] [782]

After the contract the women meet, the amz'ad is played for a moment, but the bed of the newlyweds must be prepared. 585

The women get up and make a sort of mattress of sand or earth, 585
which is called "adebel" ⵉⴷⴱⵍ and which is covered with
a haïk. Over it will be set the skin tent on two wooden arches,
"idjedjan" ⵉⵊⵊⵏ , and the usual pegs.

But at this point the men intervene and seize the tent
cover. Two on one side and two on the other, they throw it [777]
back and forth three times, calling "Saoula iaoulit (throw and
send back)." This brings good fortune.

Then the tent is finally set up. The men lead the groom
to the tent. He is made to go around it three times; then he [777]
enters, taking care to put his right foot in first, again because
this brings good fortune.

The groom is in the tent with his friends. The women 585
then accompany the bride while singing: 533
539

"Bismillaten ar essa ⴱⵙⵎⵉⵍⵍⴰⵜⵏ ⴰⵔ ⵙⵙⴰ
"Se iz'ar isem n yalla ⵙ ⵉⵣⵄⴰⵔ ⵉⵙⵎ ⵏ ⵢⴰⵍⵍⴰ
"Foull ilik ner' as tedoua" ⴼⵓⵍ ⵉⵍⵉⴽ ⵏⵔⵄ ⴰⵙ ⵜⴷⵓⴰ

which means:

"In the name of God on them up to seven times,
"Preceding the name of God,
"On our daughter who left in the evening (for her
husband's home)." /17/

A few meters from the tent the son of the bride's maternal 585
aunt comes forward and wants to hold the bride back, telling 431
her: "I will not let you leave before receiving my gift, my
sandals. Aouid ir'atimen (give me my sandals)." The groom
or his friends then pass him a pair of sandals which were set
aside for this purpose or, lacking these, another gift.

Then the women in chorus ask questions to which the men 585
reply in chorus: 533
539

Women's chorus:

Nellouz ⵏⵍⵍⵓⵣ We are hungry.

Men's chorus:

Atekchimet ⵜⴰⴽⴽⵛⵉⵎⵜ You will eat.

Women's chorus:

Ner'loul ⵏⵔⵄⵍⵓⵍ We are naked.

Men's chorus:

Atelsimet +ⵊ⊡ ||+ You will be clothed. 565 533 539

Women's chorus:

Nerdjih ⁝'ˈ O| We are afoot.

Men's chorus

Atar'ermet +ⵊO⁝+ You will be mounted..

Then the bride and the women, addressing the groom, sing these two lines:

Outterir' inelli n isakan ⵏ·⁝●ⵏ.||ⵏ⁝O+:

Essoufeq inelli n foudan ⵏVⵊⵏ.||ⵏ···ⵊ⊡

"I do not want any bechna (carried by) young camels.

"I prefer bechna (carried by) strong and solid camels," meaning by this that she expects of her husband the deeds of a strong, brave man and not the behavior of a child. /18/

Then the bride enters the tent, and the guests withdraw and go to feast. 585

For seven days the groom's food is provided by the bride's relatives. During this time the newlyweds do not leave their tent, but people go there to entertain and visit them.

Custom decrees that the newlyweds live beside the wife's parents for a year in order to give her time to get used to separation from them, which they call "az'alaɣ" ⵚ||# (from the verb "ez'li" ⵚ||# , to separate). 591

Monogamy is the absolute rule. 595

We have said that the ahal is one of the reasons for late marriages. Another reason lies in the fact that many Tuareg are satisfied with Negro concubines. 582 595

Chapter VIII

Divorce

Divorce, in Tamashek "tellef" ⵜⵍ||+ or "oulouf" ⵓⵍⵓⴼ (from the verb "ellef" ⵜⵍ|| , to divorce), 586

ⵜⵍ||

occurs quite often, but most generally on the initiative of the wife, for the husband who gives notice of repudiation is bound to pay her the remainder due on the bride price, while when it is the wife who initiates the break by refusing herself to him and taking refuge with her parents, her husband owes her nothing. 586

Sidi ag Keradji, the amenokal of the Taïtoq and Kel Ahnet, could never keep a wife with him. He divorced very often. Each time he went back to his negresses, whom he held in high regard. Meanwhile, he tried to remarry (he was seventy to seventy-five years old), but it seems he had some difficulty, considering his matrimonial past. /19/ [591 587]

Chapter IX

Adultery

Adultery, in Tamashek "tikra" ⵜⴰⴽⵔⴰ (from the verb "ouker" ⵓⴽⵔ , to steal), is certainly common. 837 684

The Tuareg may say that in a case of adultery they do not hesitate to kill the woman, but I asked them to cite me such a case which had occurred within the past several years, and they admitted that they could not cite any, adding that this was just because no act in flagrante delicto had ever been established. Others told me that many are satisfied to get divorced and that some even say no more about it [586]

Chapter X

Games

Children play a game with a ball, "tekerikera", O·:O·:+, which they hit with curved sticks /20/ ("iggaten tekerikera," they hit the ball). Two camps are formed and the ball must be made to go into the opposing camp. 526 857

But their greatest amusement is to make out of clay little sticks and stones, all kinds of animals and people, which they call "isounar" O|⊙ . Thus they make a mehari with its saddle, a camel with its young, a horse, etc., or they may make a mehari with a man on it, "aknar" O|·: , or a woman in her bassour, "taknart" ⊕|·:+ ; here are a bride and groom. These young sculptors, it seems, are very skillful. 524 532 857

Sometimes they hang a swing, "taoulioula", ||:||:+ , on a tree. 524 857

291 411 526

Armed Conflict between Azioue1 and Tacha
(Ta'ltoq Tuareg) (First Stage)

4: Benhazera--17a G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

291
411
526

(Second Stage)

(Third Stage)

4: Benhazera--17b G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

(Fourth Stage)

4: Benhazera--18 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

291
411
526

(Fifth Stage)

As to the men, they practice throwing the spear as far as possible toward a certain object. They have mock battles with the "takouba" (saber) and shield, "ar'er"; or /22/ they roll up rags and try to cut them with a single stroke of their great "takouba."

411
526

4: Benhazera--19 G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

Chapter XI

Death. Burial. Graves

If death ("tamettant" ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵜⵜⴰⵏⵜ) takes place near an 764
"ar'erem" (village), burial is carried out at the cemetery. Otherwise, the deceased is buried where he died.

The corpse is washed with warm water, according to Moslem custom, and dressed in his shroud "tifit" ⵜⵉⴼⵉⵜ . Tolbas come to say the prayers of the dead. The grave "az' - ekka" ⴰⵣⴰⵖⴻⴽⴽⴰ , plural "iz'ekouan" ⵉⵣⴰⵖⴻⴽⵡⴰⵏ , is dug. The pit /23/ is one span and four fingers wide for, as among all Moslems, the corpse is laid on the right side, the face turned toward "kiblah" (the direction of Mecca). The depth is only 60 to 70 centimeters. It is covered with flat stones cemented with wet clay. They place markers ("chouahed" in Arabic, "ihalissen" ⵉⵀⴰⵍⵉⵙⵙⴻⵏ in Tamashek), that is, stones set on end: one at the head, one at the feet if it is a man; one at the head, two at the feet if it is a woman, parallel or perpendicular to the direction of the grave according to whether it is a man or a woman.

Then a circle of stones is made around the grave, with an opening for entry and exit, and to the east, opposite the door, is the place of prayer, according to the following plan. a

The expression of condolence used is the following: "iha ner' irah yalla ierhak, " which corresponds to the Arabic وحايك [576]
الله يخلف علينا and which means, "May God repay the loss which you and we have suffered. "

The visitor goes around the grave saying, "ket irkhem [788]
yalla (May God grant you mercy!), " says his prayer and leaves.

A funeral feast is given for the tolbas and the poor. /24/

a [see p 20 --- ANALYST]
1

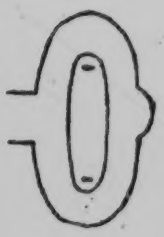
Chapter XII

Mourning

Mourning, "oudhouf" ⵓⴹⵀⵓⴼ , does not have 765
any very outstanding features for a man.

In general a man must stay shut in his tent for three days.

The widow goes into mourning and remains in mourning for four months and ten days. She must hide her hair [307]
with a black veil and not comb it for the duration of her mourning; enclose her feet in high footgear instead of the usual sandals; withdraw her hands from view or show only their tips. In short, as in "Miss Helyett":



Plan

[764]

Dautheville
Tuareg Grave in the
Teddeqqirt Wadi (Immidir)

To show none of those charms
Which would give arms
To the wicked liar.

At the end of mourning, the women of the camp lead the 765
widow out to see the sunrise; the Koran is held open before
her and she is made to look at salt. Upon her return, she may
dress as before and make herself pretty. A collection is taken [768]
up for her. /25/

Chapter XIII

Inheritance. Succession

Inheritance, "takasit" +⊡⁚+ , (from the verb 428
"ekkous," to inherit) is of two kinds: political inheritance,
if I may so express it, and private inheritance.

The first is the right to command and to the collection of
the "tiousse," or tribute from the "imr'ad." This is handed
down according to the laws of inheritance of which we will
speak later.

As to private inheritance, it is collected by the natural
heirs according to Moslem laws of rights, which means that the
son has a right to an amount double that of the daughter. The
animals left as inheritance are assessed and are divided ac-
cording to this assessment. These shares are then chosen by
lot.

Chapter XIV

The Home. The Tent

All the tents of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar confederation 281
are made of the hides, "ilmaouen" ⁚⊐ǁ , of goats or sheep, 342

tanned and sewed together. The assemblage of these hides [281] constitutes the cover, the essential part of the tent, and is 342 called "ehakit" ⵄⵀⴰⴽⵉⵜ .

The tent is supported by a central master beam called "tamankaɪt" ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵏⴽⴰⵢⵜ .

A pole, "idjem" ⵉⴷⵊⴻⵎ , is placed at the entrance of the tent and is flanked right and left by poles called "madar'en" ⵎⴰⴷⴰⵔⵄⴻⵏ . /26/

Other poles are used to hold up the edges: these are the "tissedass" ⵜⵉⵙⵙⴻⴷⴰⵙⵙ . The little pegs that hold the tent to the ground are called "tisselitaɪ" ⵜⵉⵙⵙⴻⵍⵉⵜⴰⵢ . Sometimes bows are also used, called "adjedjou" ⴰⴷⵊⴻⴷⵊⵓ , plural "idjedjan" ⵉⴷⵊⴻⴷⵊⴰⵏ .

The tent is surrounded by mats of "afezzou" ⴰⴼⴻⵣⵣⵓ [285 (Panicum turgidum, Graminaceae), called "asabar" ⴰⵙⴰⴱⴰⵔ 824] plural "isebran" ⵉⵙⴻⴱⵔⴰⵏ , which are pulled back in the day and drawn close at night, to close the tent.

In the tent one finds first that which concerns water, that 352 is, waterskins, "abeɪor'" ⴰⴱⴻⵢⵔ , plural "ibiyar'" - 415 ⵉⴱⵉⵢⴰⵔ , hung on forked sticks, "tidjettaouin" ⵜⵉⴷⵊⴻⵜⵜⴰⵓⵉⵏ . They are filled by means of a funnel, "asegueffi" ⴰⵙⴻⴳⵓⴻⴼⴼⵉ , plural "isegueffa" ⵉⵙⴻⴳⵓⴻⴼⴼⴰ . To water the camels, the 231 Tuareg use troughs of hide supported by hoops at the top and called "tafaraout" ⵜⴰⴼⴰⵔⴰⵓⵜ , plural "tiferouin" ⵜⵉⴼⴻⵔⵓⵉⵏ . They also use these troughs for the harvest of "toulloult" grain 243 (Arthraterum pungens, Graminaceae) or of "afezzou" (Panicum turgidum, Graminaceae).

For milk and butter, they have a waterskin for milk, 415 "tanouart" ⵜⴰⵏⵓⴰⵔⵜ , plural "tinouarin" ⵜⵉⵏⵓⴰⵔⵉⵏ , and a kind of porous water jug made of a hollowed gourd and called "az'enou" ⴰⵣⵄⴻⵏⵓ . To ladle the milk, serve it or pour it, they use a wooden vessel with one handle called "asoukal" ⴰⵙⵓⴽⴰⵍ . To store and transport melted butter, "oudi, " they have waterskins of various shapes, the most common being the one called "tahattint" ⵜⴰⵀⴰⵜⵜⵉⵏⵜ , but they also sometimes [281] use the tanned hide of a camel's thigh. /27/

To feed young camels and lambs, they use a kind of nursing bottle of wood shaped like a cup equipped with a tube. This utensil is called "ar'alala" .

For dishes, one finds in the tent wooden bowls of all sizes, called "akous" , plural "ikassen" , large wooden dishes, "tar'elalt" , and smaller dishes used as plates and called "tar'ehout" , plural "tireha" . To ladle milk or gruel, the Tuareg use a large ladle, "temoulat" , plural "timoulatin"

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Tuareg Camp at Tazerouk

, and for eating they have ordinary wooden spoons called "tesoukalt" , plural "tsoukaline" .

To separate the grains of "toulloult" and "afezzou" from their hulls, they use small trays of afezzou called "tissiit" , plural "tissiin" .

They also use a great deal the wooden mortar, "akabar" , with its pestle, "ihar'en" .

Finally, they have hide sacks to hold dates or grains, which they call "adjera" , plural "idjerouen" .

All the above utensils are made of the wood of the "teborak" (Balanites aegyptiaca, Simaroubaceae) and of the abser', or "tamat, " (Acacia arabica).

The donkey carries the waterskins from the well to the tent, and on its back is placed a packsaddle made of curved pieces of wood bound together, which is called "eroukou."

Let us not forget the Tuareg's saddle, "terik," and if the master of the tent is well-to-do, his wife's saddle, "tekhaouit." /28/

The tent is divided in two: one side for the man and the other for the woman. On the man's side are his saddle, his arms, and the things used for eating. On the woman's side are her saddle, her "amz'ad," and the cooking utensils.

Custom decrees that the man choose the east part for his side, and the woman the west part.

A group of tents is called "amezar'" ⵜⵉⵎⵣⵔ, and a single tent "ehan" ⵜⵉⵀⴰⵏ, plural "ehanan" ⵜⵉⵀⴰⵏⴰⵏ.

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Tent of a Tedjehe-Mellet at Amra (Black Tifedest)

Chapter XV

Food

The main meal takes place at noon and is called "tarout" ⵜⴰⵔⵓⵜ. In the evening the Tuareg is

usually satisfied with milk, "akh, " fresh ("akh oua kefaïen" 264
[illegible]) or sour ("akh iezza", [illegible]), at
the hour when the camels, sheep, or goats come in from
pasture.

The basic food of the Ahaggar Tuareg consists of bechna, 262
"inelli" (white-grain sorghum, Graminaceae), dates, "teïni, "
and milk, "akh. " [illegible]

But their country provides them with many resources 22
which they are careful not to neglect, especially the poor, 556
the "tileqqiouin" [illegible] , who constitute the majority.

All the "imr'ad" go to harvest the grains of "toulloult" 243
and "afezzou. " Women, children, youths, negroes and 221
negresses go into the wadis
to gather the harvest, which
takes place from May to June
for "toulloult" and from July
to the end of September for
"afezzou. " /29/

[000]

Dautheville

Idelès (Koudia)

Usually, before the
harvest several wadis are for-
bidden territory, and camels
are not led there until the
harvest is finished.

The produce is gathered
and put into hide sacks. After the grains have dried, they 252
need only to be put onto small trays of "afezzou, " called
"tissiin, " which are shaken, and the hulls fall off and remain
on top. The grains are ground to powder, and a kind of gruel
is made with water or butter.

The Tuareg are also very fond of "tikamarin" [illegible] 234 352 262 438
, cheeses as hard as wood which they get from Aïr. They
grind them in mortars and mix them in their food.

They very seldom eat meat, except that of game which 262
they can kill in a hunt: gazelles, mountain sheep, and 224
antelopes. But often they prefer to smoke this game in order 251 438
to go and sell it in the Tidikelt.

262
The nobles eat better, at least those who are well-to-do. 243
In the Ahaggar especially they own cultivated land in the 556
"ar'erems" (villages), where they grow wheat, "ired," barley, 565 423
"timzin," and bechna, "inelli"; but usually they sell their 438

[137]

Dautheville

Trees Called "Ahatés" (Acacia Albida) at the Tillemas of the Tessht Wadi (Koudia).

wheat and barley to the natives of the Tidikelt and are content with bechna, of which they are very fond. They claim that [824]
bechna is less heating to the stomach than wheat or barley.

The rich allow themselves the luxury of drinking tea, but 272
tea and sugar are very expensive, and they do not misuse them. 556
On the other hand, they do not hesitate to beg for them shame- 263
lessly.

When the year is bad anything seems good to the poor to 222
assure their subsistence. In such years one sees them eating 262
/30/ "berdi," or "taheli," (Typha angustifolia, Typhaceae); 735
ground carob seeds of "talhas," or gum trees, which they call 252
"tahaha" • ⋮⋮+ ; "tanékfaït (Diplotaxis duveyrierana, Cruciferae); fruit of the "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica), which they steep to take out the bitterness; and even leaves of the "aremmas" (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae), which they boil.

In short, nature keeps food resources for them which prevents even the poorest from dying of hunger.

The laws of hospitality, "amedjarou," are observed as 574 among all Moslems. The guest, "amadjar," is always well received.

Chapter XVI

Hygiene. Diseases

133
516

Dautheville

Dr. Dautheville in the Abezzou Wadi (White Tifedest)

We know that the Tuareg have a horror of water. They do 515 not wash themselves on the pretext that this would make them sick, but it is essentially because they are very sensitive to [151] cold. To say their prayers, they do not indulge in the pre- [782 scribed ablutions, even when they are at home and have water 788] at their disposal. They are content with "taïmoum" (an imitation of washing with sand), which they call "ettamine." The amenokal Moussa ag /31/ Amastane is the only Tuareg whom I have seen making his ablutions with water.

This is also doubtless due to the fact that the Tuareg like 241 to keep the tint of indigo, "sedjeni" ⵙⴹⵊⵉ , on their 302 skins, the result of wearing "chegga," or blue cotton, which 386 runs a great deal and of which they make their clothes. They 515

claim that this blue tint is excellent for the health. As in the Tidikelt, a white garment is not fit to wear until it has been sufficiently tinted blue by contact with "chegga."

The Tuareg value our medicines, "asafar" ⵓⵙⴼⴰⵔ, plural "isefran" ⵉⵙⴼⴰⵔⴰⵏ, and believe in their efficacy. This is also due to the fact that they are given to them free, for under no circumstances does the Tuareg like to loosen his purse strings, and he never ceases to beg for anything he sees that he hopes to get for nothing.

However this may be, it is good to note that he comes very willingly to be treated by us. A French doctor would certainly be very well received by the Tuareg.

The most usual diseases among them are fever, "tazzaq" ⵜⴰⵣⵣⴰⵇ, gonorrhea, "talaoa"t;" rheumatism, "tesemdhi" ⵜⵙⵎⴷⵉ, and headaches, "tekmou-n-ir'ef" ⵜⴽⵎⵓⵏⵉⵔⵄⴼ.

Chapter XVII

Negroes and Negresses

There is no Tuareg tent which has not at least its negro and negress. The frequent raids that the Ahaggar made in the Niger and in the Sudan procured them all the slaves they have.

They devoted themselves greatly to the Negro trade, which brought them fine profits since they had only to take the negroes without expense.

The conquest of the Sudan and the Saharan Oases gave them a terrible blow from that standpoint. Besides, with the progressive pacification of their territory and that of the neighboring tribes subject to them, they would soon have to renounce all hope of new raids, and one may say that the Negro trade, if not entirely destroyed, will at least be considerably diminished.

The negroes and negresses are well treated by the Tuareg, who do not impose hard labor upon them. The negroes are primarily busy with the flocks, which they drive to pasture and water. The negresses are concerned with the kitchen; they go after water and take care of the children.

Tuareg Watering their Sheep at the Tin Zaouaten Well

Negroes and negresses also gather the harvest of "toulloult" and "afezzou" grains, but this is more fun than work, for everyone takes part in it with them, in gay groups.

Many negroes eventually become the trusted men of their masters, who put them in charge of caravans or even of responsible missions. Thus, the amenokal Moussa had a trusted negro, Chernach, whom he regarded highly, for, he said, "I know that this man would have himself killed for me." Moreover, he gave him a gun, a spear, and a saber. /33/ These negroes are very happy and can consider themselves as freed.

Besides, there are few negroes who are not armed by their masters with a "tar'da" (spear with a wooden shaft) and with a "takouba" (saber), of which they are very proud. The best are sent on raids, and it seems that they acquit themselves very well in combat. 411 563 567 726

As to the negresses, there are some who confine themselves to attending to the care of the household and the tent, but there are quite a few others who are raised to the dignity of concubines. A noble Tuareg prefers to share his bed with a negress rather than to marry a "tamr'idt" (serf). He marries late, and when he decides to, he looks especially for a woman who, by her /34/ birth, will give his children future rights to command. The negress profits from this. 563 567 595

The negroes and negresses are not, as a rule, mistreated by the Tuareg. Besides, if the case should arise, they know how to use the following curious custom in use among the Tuareg. 563 567 685

When a slave, negro or negress, becomes too unhappy with his master and wishes to become the slave of another master, he splits the ear of a child or a horse or hamstrings a mehari; in short, damages anything valuable that belongs to the master he wishes to have; then he stays beside his deed. Naturally, in reparation for the harm done, the negro is given in full possession to the injured master. There may be protest, if there was connivance between the slave and the master he wishes to have, and, in this case, the oath is deferred and the case brought before a marabout or a cadi. [692]

Thus the negress Tenoufek, who belonged to Semana, sister of Bika ag Moumou of the Kel Ahnet, slit the ear of a mare belonging to Sidi ag Keradji, the amenokal of the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet. In reparation the negress was given to Sidi, with whom she still remains.

Another example: the negro of El Biodh ould Settafi of the Settaf, hamstrung two camels belonging to Ibedi ag Bassi of the Ir'echoumen. In reparation El Biodh had to give Ibedi the negro and a camel besides. /35/

Chapter XVIII

Clothing. The Veil

The Tuareg are very clothes conscious. They love 291
beautiful clothes and do not fail to put the best they have in their wardrobes on their backs every time the occasion arises.

The more garments they can put on, one over the other, the better it is. Even in midsummer if a Tuareg has a wool burnoose, he does not hesitate to put it over his shoulders if he is to attend a palaver or present himself to a chief, though he suffer from it.

Their clothes are almost all made of dark-blue cotton, "tchoqqit" ⵜⵛⵀⵇⵇⵉⵜ (a word which seems to be a [192]
variation of the word "chegga" used by the Arabs).

White cotton is not fashionable and is not worn except by [556]
those who do not have the means to buy dark-blue cotton, which looks black and, from a distance when they are in a group, gives them a slight resemblance to crows.

Their costume consists of:

The "takarbast" ⵜⴰⴽⴰⵔⴱⴰⵙⵜ , a sleeveless gandurah slit at the sides and sewed only at the bottom, so that when they raise onto their shoulders the panels that fall to their wrists, the entire bare chest is seen through the opening.

The "karteba" ⵜⴽⴰⵔⵜⴰⴱⴰ , trousers à la hussarde, or full like the Arab "seroual," tight at the ankle.

The "takammist" ⵜⴰⴽⴰⵎⵎⵉⵙⵜ , a gandurah with large wide sleeves and a large pocket on the left side of the chest, "el hib" ⵍⵃⵉⴱ . The "takammist," which is usually made of cotton with small blue /36/ and white squares or with dark-blue and mauve stripes, is decorated on the shoulders with white embroidery. This garment is expensive and is only worn [556]
by well-to-do Tuareg.

An "abrour" ⵉⴱⵔⵓⵔ , a haïk of wool bought in the Tidikelt or the Touat, and worn only in winter.

The "tidjelmoust" ⵜⴰⴷⵊⴻⵍⵎⵓⵙⵜ, or veil. The veil 291
is made of a single strip of dark-blue or black cotton. To put it on, the end is placed on top of the head, then it is first wrapped around at the bottom to hide the lower part of the face. Then it is brought back up to hide the upper part of the face, and the head is wound with the rest of the strip to hold it in place.

The upper part of the veil is called "amaoual-oua-n-afella," the lower part "amaoual-oua-n-aris." The top of the [302]
head remains uncovered to leave free the hair, which is braided in small strands or cut in the shape of a cock's comb, or just cut short. The part of the veil which covers the nape of the neck is called "adjedellehouf."

When the veil is on the forehead is bound with white or colored material, "asaded" ⴰⵙⴰⴷⴰ, and to be pleasing a bright-colored ribbon or cloth, "itelli" ⵉⵜⴻⵍⵍⵉ, can be added.

The young people some time ago imported a fashion which 177
they borrowed from the Kel Fedé of the Aïr and which consists 291
of a kind of diadem of this shape:

It is placed on the forehead and is covered and hidden by the veil, which holds it in place.

This diadem, which is called "tadebanat" ⵜⴰⴷⴻⴱⴰⵏⴰⵜ, [184]
is not liked by the "old Tuareg" party, who have not adopted it. Sidi ag /37/ Keradji told me that he preferred the old fashion which consisted of slipping under the "assaded" amulets enclosed in silver plaques, called "tira-n-azerouf." But the "young Tuareg" party is not of this opinion and considers the new fashion not lacking in elegance.

Sometimes they cross a white sash on the chest, 291
"tirezzemine" ⵜⵉⵔⵣⵣⴻⵎⵉⵏⴻ.

Finally, they wear around their necks thick cords of red 291
or green silk or braided wool, which they call "el mejdoud" 789
and which are used to suspend a Koran, a book dealing with
cabalistic matter, or amulets.

Amulets (everyone has some) are worn on the back or on 789
the chest. They are enclosed in a leather or metal sheath.
I saw one Tuareg who had some twenty that he wore, all
gathered together, on his chest.

Finally, they are shod with large flat sandals from the Aïr, 291
"ir'atimen" ⵉⵔⴰⵜⵉⵎⵏ , or with leather sandals made on [439]
the spot and called "imerkaden" ⵉⵎⵔⴽⴰⴷⵏ .

Let us not forget the arm bracelet "ahbedj" ⴰⵀⴱⴷⵊ , 301
plural "ihebdjan" ⵉⵀⴱⴷⵊⵏ , like a snake, which, they 789
say, gives strength to the biceps when one strikes a blow.

At rather important meetings and palavers, the richest 292
come dressed in burnooses bought at Ghat and decorated on [556]
the shoulders with attractive silver embroidery. Sometimes it
also happens that if the burnoose has no embroidery, the owner
prefers to wear it inside out, so as to display the yellow and
green silk lining which decorates the edge and lower corner of
the burnoose. Where will vanity stop?

The burnoose is not put on, but just put over the shoulders.

Some poor Tuareg are dressed in clothes of tanned leather. 291
/38/ 556

The woman's dress consists chiefly of:

A sort of skirt, called "asedjebes"
A shirt with sleeves, "takammist"
A woolen haïk, "abrouf"
A veil placed on her head, "ikerhi"

According to her means, she wears the following jewelry: 301
556

Silver bracelets, "ihebdjan-oui-n-azerouf"
Glass bracelets, "tahouka," plural "tahoukaouin"
Glass-bead bracelets, "denguela," plural "denguelaten"
Blacelets of the horns of goats or gazelles, made
in two halves which are encased one in the other
with copper and which are called "iouakane"

Earrings in the shape of large rings, "tizabbatine" 301 [55-6]
Rings, "tisseq," plural "tisser'ine"
Also, like the men, she wears amulets, "tira." [789]
Finally, in summer she wears a large parasol hat ("medols" 291
in Arabic), which she sometimes decorates with red wool and which is called "tili" (shade).

Concerning the veil: whence comes this use of the veil among the Tuareg? Even those involved do not know.

Sidi ag Keradji, however, gave me an explanation which 173
is quite without validity but shows the craze which the Tuareg 291
have to attribute an Arab origin to themselves. This is his story:

"At the caputre of Mecca, the Prophet Mohammed was mounted on a 'cidah' (female mehari). He had wrapped his head with his 'ihram' (a garment peculiar to the pilgrim who enters the sacred territory of Mecca). It is since this time that the Tuareg have worn the veil."

What is certain is that this is a very old custom, since Arabian writers have for several centuries called /39/ the Tuareg by the name of "Ahl-el-Litham," or "people of the veil."

Did they adopt this custom for utilitarian reasons, to pro- 173
tect their sight from the brilliance of the sun's rays and to 183
insure their eyes against the dust which rises from the sand? 291
To this question they reply in the negative. It is primarily, they say, a question of modesty and dignity. A Tuareg must never show his mouth, the door through which he introduces food into his body. That is shameful. Even at night he does not take off his veil. When he enters a camp foreign to his 183
tribe, he must lower his veil completely over his eyes so as 291
not to be suspected of having come to seduce. In meetings 376
he also veils himself completely, perhaps in order better to hide his feelings.

It is probably because of this custom that the Tuareg 182 291 shaves his mustache and he finds it strange that we wear them. 302 On the other hand, he wears a full beard.

Chapter XIX

The Woman's Saddle

I think it well to give below the following description of 492 the very unusual mehari saddle of Tuareg women.

I had the opportunity to see one, of which I was able to get a sketch (see the accompanying illustration). /40/.

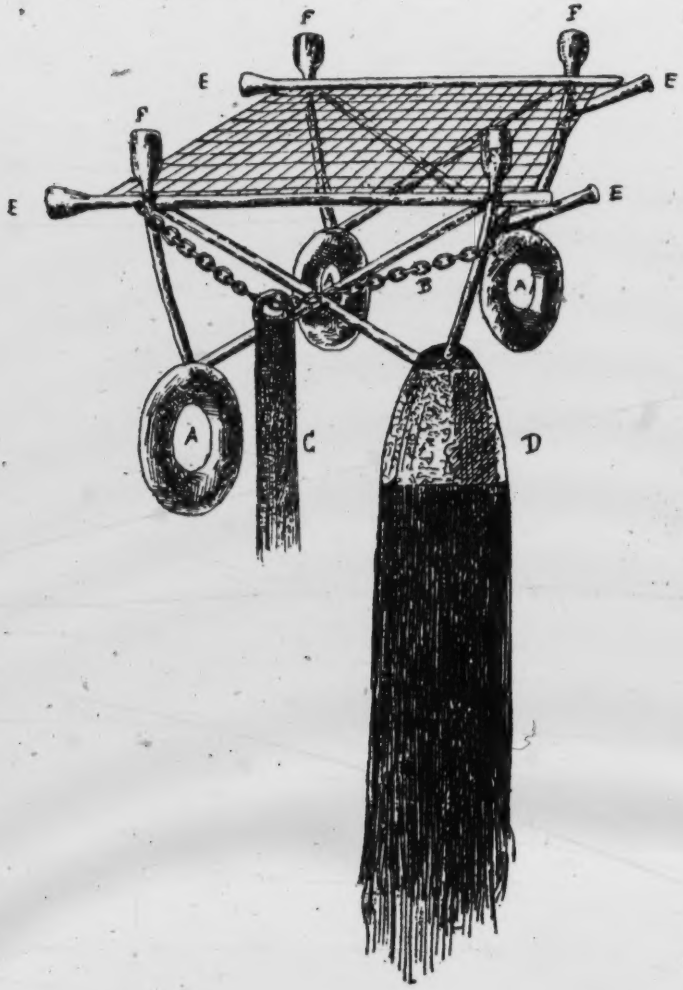
It seems that many other saddles are handsomer, with painted wood, and they say that the beautiful Dassine suffered considerable distress when she learned that a beautiful saddle belonging to her had been plundered by one of the insurrectionists at the beginning of our establishment in the /Saharah? Oases.

The woman's saddle, which somewhat resembles a sedan chair, is placed over the hump of the mehari without touching it. It consists of the following essential parts: a rectangular seat of netted strands, supported by four uprights to which are fastened four cushions with holes in the center which rest, two on each side, on the flanks of the mehari. These cushions A are called "afelledoud" ⵄⵄ ⵍⵍ ⵊⵃ , plural "ifelledad" ⵄⵄ ⵍⵍ ⵊⵃ .

The uprights are fastened to each other by two transverse bars on each side.

A chain of iron links B called "imetredj" ⵉⵎⵜⵔⴻⴷⵊ goes around the saddle and passes through the ring of the girth C, which is called "ahif"

Onto the upright with the rear cushion, which is hidden in the picture, is attached an embroidered ornament which has hanging from it strands of wool or colored leather. This ornament D is called "tegarsim"



Tuareg Woman's Saddle (Drawn by Corporal Malroux) [41]

Extending the seat there are four small bars, E, one at each corner. Finally, there are four other small perpendicular bars F on the seat. 492

In order to mount, with the camel kneeling, the woman takes the bridle in her hands and sits on the bare withers of the camel (in the place where the man's saddle rests) and, in this position, her legs on the neck of the mehari, she makes it get up. When the animal is standing, the woman places both hands on the two small front bars, E, of the saddle, and, with a slight adjustment, she sits in the saddle, her legs hanging on the withers of the camel.

The top of the saddle is generally covered with a /42/ haïk which is fastened to the four perpendicular bars F, so that the woman is sitting in a sort of hammock.

This saddle is called "tekhaouit" ⵜⴰⵅⴰⵡⵉⵜ. The de luxe saddle, more decorated, is called "araguen" ⵉⵔⴰⴳⵏ.

Chapter XX

Education

One cannot say that the knowledge of reading and writing 212 "tifinagh," or symbols for the Tamashek language, is a proof of education, for this knowledge does not have any practical use.

The Tuareg very seldom use the symbols for their language, and use them largely for little inscriptions of no great significance (of a kind which we will see later) on boulders or on the inside of arm bracelets.

When there are letters to be written, they have them written in Arabic, for they fear, with reason, being misunderstood if they should write them in "tifinagh." In fact,

because of the lack of vowels, the "tifinagh" are guessed rather than read, and this system of writing has remained quite primitive. [212]

However, among the Ahaggar Tuareg some know how to read and write Arabic, especially the Issoqqamaren, almost all [177 191]

[291 643]

The Amenokal Sidi ag Keradji Reading the Address of a Letter Sent to Him.

of whom understand Arabic because of their frequent relations with the Tidikelt, where they must have lived for a long time (1). It is the same for the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet, many

1. See section on history /not translated/.

of whom speak Arabic. /43/

Knowledge of the "tifinagh" is rather a diversion for the Tuareg than a useful study. They like to try to decipher inscriptions or to show you, on the sand, the exact orthography of a word.

They have no numbers, and they do not use the Arabic numbers. They prefer to make holes in the sand, and by this rather long process succeed in figuring just the same. A Tuareg, moreover, cannot talk for five minutes without emphasizing his recitation with dots or lines on the sand. If he is asked, "How many days' march are there between this point and that one," he cannot answer any number without marking on the ground as many dots as there are days in his answer. 802

A Tuareg who has been made to sit on the ground on a blanket, before he begins to talk raises the edges of the blanket /44/ so as to indulge in his favorite occupation. Certainly if he were transported to France, into a well-waxed apartment, he would be very unhappy and would quickly ask for sand or earth so as to be able to draw his dots and lines. [516 521]

But this custom has its use when one wishes to have an idea of the road one must travel. The Tuareg who, like all nomads, has a very accurate sense of direction, will draw an over-all map of the route to be followed, with the wadis and landmarks which would be met. 487 823

The Tuareg do not have words in their language to denote the days of the week. Those that they use have been borrowed from the Arabic and changed. 177 192 805

On the other hand, for their months they have kept some truly Tamashek names, while others are definitely taken from the Arabic. Thus:

1. "Tamessedek," corresponding to Muharram and which seems to be derived from the Arabic "sedeq" صدق "to give alms." It is said that this name means "zekkat" ةكز , or "legal alms."

2. "Talilt tassettafet" (corresponding to Safar). This means "the black month." Here is why this month is so called: "Sidna Slimane (Solomon) was in command of the genii and demons. One day when he was standing leaning on his cane, the "djinns" (genii) told a termite to eat out the bottom of the cane. The termite did the job so well that the 773 776 805

cane broke at the bottom, and poor Solomon fell over, all 773
fours in the air, and was killed in his fall. His death was the 776
signal of liberty for the genii and demons, who spread through- 805
out the world, precisely in that month which was later called
the "black month."

3. "Talilt tarer'ert," that is, the "yellow month," 177
(corresponding to Rabia I, or Mouloud, the month of the 805
Prophet's birth), so called, it is said, because it is lighted,
منوّر by the birth of the Prophet. /45/

4. "Aouhim oua izzaren," that is, "the first Aouhim," 825
(corresponding to Rabia II). Aouhim means "fawn of a gazelle."
This is also the name of a star. [821]

5. "Aouhim oua ilkamen," that is, "the next Aouhim,"
(corresponding to Jumada I).

6. "Sarat" (corresponding to Jumada II). The Tuareg have been unable to give me any explanation of this name.

7. "Tin tineslimine," that is, "the month of the marabouts," (corresponding to Rajab). In the time of the Kharijite doctrine, the Ramadan was put back to the month Rajab, and it is known that the Tuareg espoused this doctrine (1).

1. See Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme /Essay on the History of Islamism/ by Dozy.

8. "Amezzehel," that is "he who runs," (from the root "zehel," to run), thus named because it has only 29 days and it precedes the arrival of Ramadan. It corresponds to Shaban.

9. "Azzoum," that is, "the fast" (corresponding to the [177
month of Ramadan), a name taken from the Arabic word 192]
الصوم "essoum," the fast.

10. "Tessessi," that is, "act of drinking" or "libations," because one may drink after the fast. It corresponds to Shawwal, the month in which the feast called "Aïd Ser'ir" takes place.

11. "Djer mouhaden," that is, "between prayers," because it comes between the feasts. It corresponds to Zu'lkadah.

12. "Tafaski," that is, "the sacrifice." It corresponds to Zu'lhijjah, in which the feast called "Aïd el Kebir," also called by the Arabs "Aïd el Adha" عيد الأضحى, or "feast of sacrifices," takes place.

There is no book in Tamashek, at least that is what was told me. However, the secretary of the amenokal Moussa /46/ ag Amastane informed me that there was, at the Ahaggar, a book written in the Tamashek language, but with Arabic characters, which was the translation of a work on law of which Ibn Achir was the author (1).

1. This book is at present in the possession of someone called Salakh ag Meguemmed of the Isoqqamaren. /47/

Part Two

The Tuareg in their Public Life

Chapter I

Nobles and Imr'ad

Duveyrier has described so well the characteristics which distinguish a noble from an amr'id (1) that I think it

1. Les Touareg du Nord /The Northern Tuareg/, pages 331 to 335.

unnecessary to review this matter after him. I want to limit [114]
myself simply to noting some observations which I was able 565
to make in the course of my stay among the Tuareg of the
Ahaggar confederation.

First of all, the striking thing is that at the end of a short period of contact, one can easily guess if one is in the presence of a noble or of an amr'id. His look, his walk, his carriage, his features (if the veil is lifted to the forehead), an indefinable something, all lead correctly to the conclusion that the Tuareg before you is really a noble. However, in the course of palavers im'rad, many of whom are rich, often come as well dressed as the nobles. But their features are less fine, their bearing less easy, their look less assured, and one thinks, "This is an amr'id."

Furthermore, the Tuareg will tell you, "An amr'id may /48/ act well, dress in fine clothes, and bear fine arms, but he is still 'iamir'ed, '" that is to say, "he lacks something," [196]
and it is from this verb that they have derived the name amr'id, plural imr'ad.

Should it be thought that the imr'ad are a less pure race 173
than the nobles because of long-ago crossings with the Negro 174
race? The sheik Ben Djellas states that the mother of the 565
Issoqqamaren (an imr'ad tribe of the Ahaggar) was bought by the first inhabitants of Es-Souk. On the other hand, we will see how the Adjouh-n-Taheli and the Tedjehé-n-Efis came from Aïr to place themselves under the protection of the noble Kel R'ela and Taïtoq.

Should the admitted differences be attributed to the state of subjection and dependence in which the imr'ad have been for a long time in relation to the nobles? I would be tempted to accept this second hypothesis as more in line with the facts of history.

And from what I have seen and ascertained, I cannot 565
bring myself to translate the word "amr'id" as "serf," a word 631

which brings to our minds the idea of the serf attached to the glebe and sold with the domain which he cultivated, but rather as "client, bondsman, tributary." 565 631

In fact, if the amr'id pays the "tioussé," or tribute, to the noble, if he "lets him taste a little of what he has," according to his expression, if he is dependent on the noble, he nevertheless enjoys a freedom of action which the serf of the Middle Ages did not know. He has a right to the noble's protection if he is attacked, but he marches and fights with him armed with the same arms. In a raid he also shares with him and receives his portion of the loot, a portion which varies according to the tribe and which seems to have been fixed according to an ancient contract, in exchange for the protection granted. [701] [727]

And we will find the most convincing proof in the appointment of the amenokal. The imr'ad take part in this: it is they who speak first and state whether they accept the new amenokal, whether they have confidence in him, whether they promise /49/ faithfully to pay him the "tioussé." And he, on his part, promises to give them help and protection against all. 565 631 643

The noble makes it a point of honor to keep this promise. It would be a shame, "el r'ar," according to his expression (from the Arab word "el aâr" , not to avenge an insult or an injury rendered to one who pays him the "tioussé." 558 565 577 631

Chapter II

The Tobol. Inheritance

Concerning the tobol. The "tobol" originally was a drum made of a large gourd and covered with stretched hide, which the chief of the tribe sounded to gather his clients /dependents/ to tell them that pastures must be changed, etc. It was the insignia of command. 202 534 643 565

Duveyrier has told us that the Imanan (Cheurfa) sultans entrusted their tobols to a marabout tribe, the Ifor'as-oui-n-Tobol. This practice is maintained: noble chiefs pretend to keep the tobols with them, but they do not use them any more. 534 565

It is said that the nobles have access to the tobols because some day, according to the law of inheritance practiced among the Tuareg, they or their descendants may have the hope of obtaining the tobol, that is, the right to rule. 534 565 643

On the other hand, it is said that a noble has lost his rights to the tobol if, through a misalliance, his children are no longer of a pure noble line /race/. For example, the Kembiben, the Oulad El Goute, and the Oulad Ibra (among the Kel R'ela of the Ahaggar) can no longer hope to have the right to rule, to the tobol. Similarly, the son of a noble and a "tamr'idt" (feminine /50/ of "amr'id") is an amr'id and loses all right to the tobol which his father had. [558]

From this first meaning, the word "tobol" ended by meaning the group of nobles and imr'ad tribes who answered the call of the tobol, and one might, for example, say, "The tobol of the Kel R'ela (a noble tribe) includes such-and-such imr'ad tribes," or again, "A certain proportion of imr'ad makes up the tobol of the noble Kel R'ela." 534 565 631

The word "tobol" is certainly not of Tamashek origin, but definitely Arabic. In fact, "tobol" طبل in literary Arabic means: 1) drum, 2) kettledrum, 3) tribute, tax; and in order to say "I do not know who that man is," the early Arabs said, ما ادري اي الطبل هو I do not know of what tobol he is" (1). [192]

1. Arab-French dictionary by
A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski.

Thus I believe that this usage was introduced by the early Arabs who, in the first century after the hegira, pushed their conquest through the country inhabited by the Tuareg in order to convert them to Islamism. [174 797]

Concerning inheritance. We have seen that private inheritance is passed on to the natural heirs, according to the rules of Mohammedan law. As for political inheritance, that is to say, the right to the title of chief of a tobol and to the collection of the "tioussé," or tribute from the imr'ad, this is handed down according to special rules. [426] 611 631

Duveyrier has told us that these rights are handed down "to the oldest son of the oldest sister." I would never have dared to go on record as disagreeing with a statement from such an authority if I did not have complete assurance that the order of inheritance is not exactly that which Duveyrier indicated, and I will furnish proofs of this assurance in the chapter entitled "Genealogy" in the second book of this study /not translated/. [114]

I would therefore say that with the Tuareg when a tobol chief dies there are to succeed him: /51/

1. His brother (the oldest of those living, if there are several)
2. The oldest son of his maternal aunt
3. The oldest son of his oldest sister

This last one is only the third in line.

It is the ancestress, it is her daughters who hand down to their children the right to the "tobol." At present the Kel R'ela trace back their laws of inheritance and of access to the tobol to Kella, their ancestress, and the Taïtoq to Sakina, a contemporary of Kella and a collateral relative. [173]

The son follows the tobol of his mother. Thus, if the father belongs to the tobol of the Kel R'ela, for example, and the mother to the tobol of the Taïtoq, the son would belong to the tobol of his mother. This is what happened to Sidi ag Keradji, the present amenokal of the Taïtoq and the Kel Ahnet, whose father was of the tobol of the Kel R'ela and whose mother was of the tobol of the Taïtoq. The same applies to Attici ag Amellal and his brother Anaba, whose father belonged to the tobol of the Tedjehé Mellet, and who /themselves/ at present belong to the tobol of the Kel R'ela.

4: Benhazera--45 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

Chapter III

The Amenokal. The Amr'ar

The northern Tuareg, after the downfall of the Imanan sultan, who held absolute rule over them, regained their independence. Then two confederations were formed: that of the Azdjer and that of the Ahaggar, each including several noble tribes. /52/ 173 631

We will see later ("Origin of the Tuareg" /not translated/) that among the Berbers several tribes often formed a confederation under the supreme rule of a single chief and that the right to rule belonged specifically to certain tribes who held a kind of supremacy over the others. And this is what we will find again. Among the Azdjer the tribe that held this kind of supremacy was that of the Orar'en; among the Ahaggar, it was that of the Kel R'ela. The amenokal of the Ahaggar was always chosen from the tobol of the Kel R'ela. 631 643

The title of amenokal, although subject primarily to the laws of heredity which we have mentioned, had to be ratified by the delegates of the nobles of all the tribes and by those of the imr'ad of all fractions of the confederation. The inheritance must be confirmed by election, and this agrees well with the democratic spirit of all the Berbers and with all that is known of their history and of the theories introduced to them by Kharijism, of which they were adherents. 643

As we have said, the imr'ad had to speak first, to say if they would accept the amenokal designated by heredity, and agree to pay him the "tioussé." The nobles spoke later. The discussion was open and an agreement was reached. Sometimes it was not reached. We saw an example of this at the death of the amenokal of the Ahaggar, Aïtar'el ag Biska, in 1900. The law of heredity called Mokhammed ag Ourzig as amenokal, but the latter, opposed by the imr'ad and the majority of the nobles, was not elected and saw his rival, Attici ag Amellal, preferred. [565]

The amenokal, who at first had supreme command, later had to yield some power to the benefit of some chiefs and to give them special "tobols" with some amr'id tribes, which did not pay the tiousse to him but paid it to the chiefs of the new "tobols." This was a source of continual arguments and wars (see the historical section, Book Two /not translated/), and one thinks in spite of oneself of, "Who made you a count?" and the answer, "Who made you king?" /53/ 643 642 [668]

Before the French occupation of the Saharan Oases, each tobol had its own independant life, and the amenokal, or supreme chief, did not interfere in any way in the internal government of the "tobols." He only intervened, with the agreement of the djemaa, to straighten out disagreements which might arise between tribes or to call to arms all tribes of the confederation against a common enemy, as during the war between Azdjer and Ahaggar.

The chief of each "tobol," of each noble tribe, or of each imr'ad fraction, all indiscriminately bore the title of "amr'ar" , which means primarily "old man," like the Arab word "cheikh," all the meanings of which it carries. Thus, the chief of the tobol of the Ta'ltoq bore the title of amr'ar. For reasons of a political nature, the title of amenokal was conferred on him, which brings to two the number of amenokal of the Ahaggar confederation. 631 643

Thus the amenokal was the supreme chief of the confederation, and at the same time chief of his "tobol," while the amr'ar was the chief of a less important "tobol" of an imr'ad tribe.

4: Benhazera--47 G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

Chapter IV

The Tioussé

We know that the "tiousse" is the tribute that the imr'ad (651) must pay to the nobles in exchange for the protection which they receive.

This "tioussé" is of two kinds: the first is that which is paid to the chief of the tobol, who may at the same time be the amenokal. This "tioussé" is fairly well fixed, but it varies /54/ nevertheless according to whether the year is good or bad. It is usually paid in autumn, after the date harvest in the oases of the Touat or of the Tidikelt. It may consist of a certain amount of dates or bechna, camel calves, sheep, melted butter, etc., a share of what is brought back by the imr'ad who go in caravans, or finally a share of the loot taken by the imr'ad on raids.

In some fractions, a few groups do not pay the "tioussé" to the chief of the tobol, but to a noble of some ancient tribe, extinct today, which had formerly acquired a small fief, for example, the fraction of the Aït-Loaïn (of the tobol of the Kel R'ela).

There is, as a result, an amazing complexity in which, nevertheless, the Tuareg find their way.

The other kind of "tioussé" is that to which the imr'ad are daily subjected. Each of them and each family among them knows that the maintenance of such-or-such a noble devolves upon them, and he continually comes to beg something. Sometimes the amr'd gives; at other times he gives less. When the noble knows that an amr'id has returned from a caravan and has brought good things, dates for example, he comes and demands his share.

I saw a camp of Iouarouaren (an imr'ad fraction of the Taïtoq tobol), established near the tents of Taïtoq nobles, move in order to settle farther away. They had come from the Tidikelt with dates and other produce, and the noble women were continually coming to beg something at the imr'ad camp. So their chief In Chikadh gave the signal to leave and said that this was in order to put an end to the importunities of the nobles. /55/ 166 651

Chapter V

The Raid. The Loot. Its Restitution

The raid is the life of the Tuareg. He needs it. Here it is that he, the noble especially, seeks part of his means of subsistence. The favorite raids used to be those made against the Sudan, the Aïr, and the Niger, because of the negros and negresses who were captured. But the Tuareg is well aware now that French authority surrounds him on all sides, to the north and to the south, and that that system has ended. This is one of the reasons that make him regret his surrender. 648 721

The Chaânba were as predatory and as independent as the Tuareg. They also raided continually. Since their surrender, it is known what a considerable change has taken place, and we have every reason to believe that this will happen among the Tuareg under our influence.

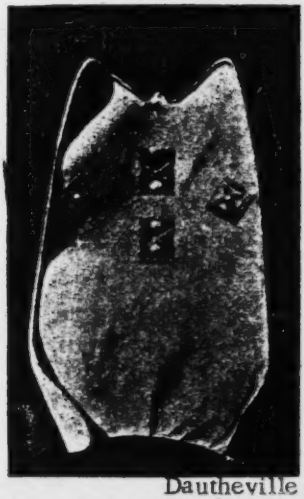
Usually when a tribe has been raided, unless a state of war has been declared, it sends a deputation, a "miaâd," to demand from the djemaâ of the raiding tribe the loot which was taken from them. The envoys must make their mounts kneel before the tents of the notables of the djemaâ and beg for restitution. 728

As a rule, an amicable solution is finally reached, but the part of the loot which is returned to the deputation is always far less than that which was taken. The Tuareg say, "Alaï ouala," that is, "the restitution is never complete." /56/ 728

It may also happen that the raiders refuse to return anything. 721 The raided tribe, if it considers itself too weak, solicits the support of another tribe with which it has good relations, and then there is fighting. [701] 728

When caravans of traders have been raided, since these caravans have usually placed themselves under the protection of noble tribes to which they pay dues, the controversy is settled between the protecting tribe and the raiders' tribe. 484 486 721

[411]



Dautheville
Tuareg Shield

In the Ahaggar it seems that the old amenokal, Aïtar'el, established the restitution of loot taken from caravans protected by the Azdjer in the following manner: 728

1. Complete restitution of the pack camels taken from the caravans
2. For each load of merchandise taken, one "amadjour" camel for each man who took part in the raid and rode a mehari of his own
3. One "aleggues" (a young camel of three years) or a half-grown camel for each man who borrowed or hired the mehari which he rode in the raid.

The arms of a Tuareg and the harness for his mount have been described in detail by Duveyrier, and there is no need to review them here. /57/ 114

Chapter Vi

War

This is a big word to use for a series of fights, raids, and 721
battles without great losses, but I still cannot find another to describe, for example, the struggle which engaged the two confederations of the Azdjer and of the Ahaggar and which lasted almost three years, with long intermissions.

No description could give a more accurate idea of it than the detailed account of this struggle which was told to me and which may be read later in the chapter dealing with the history of the Ahaggar /not translated/.

Chapter VII

Religion. Marabouts. The Fast. Religious Orders

The Tuareg, taken as a whole, are not at all religious. 779
This is due first to the fact that almost none know Arabic and 77
consequently the Koran, which may not be translated. Be- 795
sides, it is known that the Tuareg, like all Berbers, espoused the doctrines of Kharijism in the eighth and ninth centuries of our era, and that it has taken a long time to guide them back to orthodoxy.

During this period, Salih, son of Tarif, put out a Koran in 795
the Berber language, which was destroyed at the time of the 797
repression, and we will see that the Tuareg have kept among their superstitions "survivals" of the teachings of this Salih.

An example will illustrate well the present state of mind of the Tuareg from the religious point of view: /58/

I was told in the Ahaggar that youths may not say their 561
prayers in the presence of women for, in the course of genu- 562
flections and prostrations, they have to show their posteriors, 782
which is very "shocking"! On the other hand, old men can 834
pray before women without being indecent.

Many, besides, in order to say their prayers place them- 782
selves behind the imam (either an Arabian taleb or a Tuareg 788
who knows a little Arabic), and they make their genuflections, 793
saying, "Allahou akber" (God is the greatest) every time they
hear it said by the imam. That is all of their prayer.

There were many who told me that they did not observe 785
the fast of Ramadan, among others Badjloud, the amr'ar of 771
the Kel Ahnet. On the other hand, the Issoqqamaren
(fractions who have long been in contact with the Arabs and
still are) are more religious, and they all observe the fast.

Among the Ahaggar Tuareg there are, nevertheless, some 792
truly religious men, but they are known and pointed out and
pass for marabouts, for example, Moussa ag Amastane, Beketa
ag Ibrahim, and the Oulad El Mir'da and Oulad Mokhammed ag
Sadik.

Although the Tuareg is not religious, he nevertheless
has great respect for the marabouts whom he naively admires,
always on condition that these marabouts do not interfere with
him. Thus the marabout Beketa ag Ibrahim stated that the
dates coming from the Tidikelt, recently occupied by the
French, were forbidden by the religion. He changed his mind
later. But now, every time that he goes to ask an amr'id for
dates, the latter comments that they came from the Tidikelt
and are therefore forbidden by the religion, and Beketa answers,
"No. All that is over now," and accepts the dates.

Religious orders are quite widespread, especially among
the Issoqqamaren. Going by caravan to the Tidikelt or the
Touat, the Ahaggar have joined the order of the Tijaniyyah,
which numbers most of its adherents among them, and that
of the Qādiriyyah. Others (usually they all are those who have

made the pilgrimage /59/ to Mecca), have joined the order 792
of the Senusi /Sanusiyyah. Ed./ on their way to Djer'boub.

But I doubt whether this affiliation is really sincere. All the members do not want to wear their beads around their necks, but keep them in their pockets or in their luggage while they are traveling. They say that if they wear them openly they would be accused of wanting to seduce women! Finally, they are not allowed to wear them any time that they do a reprehensible deed, that they have relations, even with their lawful wives, etc.

On the other hand, having remained naive and super- 789
stitious, they all believe in the efficacy of amulets, "tira," with which they are covered. There are even some who hang them on the necks of their meharis.

At each new moon the Tuareg says his prayer. His hands 787
open like a book, he looks at the evening star and expresses 788
the wish that he may be alive at the next moon.

At the feast of Mouloud (birth of the Prophet), they hold out their hands, saying, "Asarouf" (pardon), in order to have their sins forgiven. But if there is no taleb in the tribe to remind them of the exact date, they forget and do not think of it.

Chapter VIII

Superstitions. Beliefs

The Tuareg are very superstitious. Everywhere they see 771
genii and demons, in the mountains, in the trees, in water- 776
skins, etc.

Thus, in camp they do not want to go to bed beside water-skins or ashes, because of the genii, "alhinen" ⵍⵃⵉⵏⴻⵏ, /60/ or ghosts, "kel esouf" ⵉⵇⵇⵍ ⵙⵓⴼ (people of the void), who live there.

When they want to stretch out at the foot of the tree called "el yatil" in Arabic and "tadjart" ⊕ⵜ+ in Tamashek (a kind of acacia), which is inhabited by jinn, they must first wound it with a stone, and stones are always to be found at the foot of these trees. One can also see the wounds made in the bark. 776 824 789

The "teborak" (Balanites aegyptica) is also a haunted tree. If one wants to rest under its shade, it is first necessary to break seven of the tree's thorns.

There are also "kel esouf" in the place where an animal has had its throat cut. 776

Mount Oudane is haunted, as are many others. [823]

These superstitions are probably survivals of their old religion, before their conversion to Islamism. Like them, "The Arabs of the pre-Islamic period worshipped jinn, or genii. The deserts and mountains where one sometimes gets lost for entire weeks are full of beings of this kind.... They can do much harm and much good.... They live in rocks, trees, or statues. Each tribe, or sometimes a group of tribes, had its special jinni; its rock, its tree, its own image, before which an appointed family carried out priestly duties" (1). 174 771 776

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme, by R. Dozy, pages 5 and 6.

The Tuareg have many other superstitions. Thus nobles would never kill a "uran" (varanus), which in Tamashek is called "ar'ata" •+⁝ , and a fortiori would not eat it. Sidi ag Keradji and Aziouel ag Ser'ada told me that the uran is the maternal uncle of the Tuareg, and Sidi told me the following legend: "Seven nobles had killed a camel belonging to Sidna Nouh (Hoah). Among them there was a noble Tuareg. To punish them God changed them, one into an uran, another into a jackal, a third into a chameleon, etc. /61/ The uran was the noble Tuareg. The camel that was killed is now in the sky: it is the Great Bear. The Polar Star, 'Bel Hadi', is its head." 565 825 773 784 [821]

Should one see here some agreement with what we have read in Dozy, or might the uran have been a "totem" among the Tuareg, as among the Redskins of America? 114 825

Nobles do not eat the "dobb" (star lizard) either, which is called "aguezzeram" in Tamashek. As a reason for this abstinence, they quoted me these two lines of nine syllables: 262 565 825

Our ekcher' aguezzeram idit
Iladhou ichchaden ilir'it. [539]

This means:

"I do not eat the aguezzeram because it smells bad and has a rough skin" (1).

1. Iladhou is put instead of "ili adhou." Similarly, ilir'it is put for "ili ir'it." Ir'it, plural ir'ten, means hide (of beef, camel, etc.).

Finally, they firmly refuse to eat chickens and eggs, and chickens are found nowhere among the Tuareg, except among some "harratine" /Haratin/ Arabs of the Ahaggar villages. [231] They claim that this abstinence dates back for a long time. Azioual ag Ser'ada when pressed ended by telling me that it was because chickens seek their food in manure. In the Niger, according to a study by officer-interpreter Merle, the French are called egg eaters. But I believe that the following is the real reason for this abstention: The Tuareg, like all the Berbers, had embraced Kharijism. Among the chiefs who took part in the insurrection of the Kharwarij /plural of Kharijite. Ed./ was Tarif, who made the first invasion into Spain (the city of Tarifa still bears his name). His son Salih, or Salah, claimed to be a prophet and composed a new Koran. Elijah, or Elias, son of /62/ the latter, openly remained Moslem, and it was only Salih's grandson, Jonah, or Younes, (end of the eighth century), who spread the new doctrine, which was a much modified Islamism. According to one of the precepts of 262 565 825 773

this doctrine, the scholar Dozy tells us: "There was no muezzin, or crier, to call to prayer; people were governed by the crow of the rooster; so no one, except in case of dire necessity, might kill roosters or hens or eat eggs" (1).

262 565 825 773

1. Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Islamisme, by R. Dozy, pages 348 and 349. Neither mosques nor muezzins are found in Tuareg country. See also l'Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale /History of North Africa/, by E. Mercier, pages 228 and 255. Volume 1.

[171]

Legends and stories are also known on the subject of Ahmamellen and his nephew Elias. Hanoteau told them to us. At Tamanrasset (Ahaggar) the Tuareg showed us a curious breech in a large "gara" that bounds the horizon to the east. They call it "Tiouit-n-Elias" (Elias' cut), and they say that Elias made this breech with one stroke of the "takouba." The piece removed, an enormous rock, lodged in a wadi three kilometers from there, and we were shown it in passing. The breech has also been named "Elias' Breech."

773 823

Elias is the Arabic translation of Elijah, and Younes that of Jonah. These two proper names are still used among the Tuareg. Might there not be a relationship between this Elias and Elijah, son of Salih?

[551] [174]

The Tuareg say that Ahmamellen was a man of extraordinary size and strength, and that he was the equal of an army. Might it have been Salih himself who claimed to be a prophet, then disappeared in the east after having told his followers that he was the Mahdi and that he would come back to fill the world with justice when the seventh king should be mounted on the throne?

174 773

There are also lucky or unlucky days. The lucky days, 777
those which are recommended for starting on a journey, are [484]
Friday after prayer, Saturday morning, and Monday. /63/
For the lucky day of the month one first counts 2 from the
index finger and, coming back to the index finger, 7, 12,
17, 22, 27.

The unlucky days are Sunday and Wednesday.

The Tuareg also believe in the evil eye, "tahott." 754

An eclipse is the sun's raid on the moon, and vice versa. 821

Finally, there is a very curious custom of which Duveyrier 769
has spoken, which is that of consulting old graves. Usually 787
it is the women who go to consult them. They dress well
and must avoid having on themselves anything of iron or steel,
even a needle. They lie down near the grave, and the
"zabbar" (ogre) inhabiting the grave appears to them in the
form of a giant with eyes as large as a camel's, and gives
them the answers they want. They are consulted especially
in order to get news of absent ones, people gone on a raid
or in a caravan, from whom there has been no news.

Chapter IX

Stock Raising. Flocks

Camels, sheep, and goats constitute the chief resource 233
of the Tuareg, as of all nomads. Camels especially are the
object of all their care, since these give them the greatest
service. They rely greatly on camels, ewes, and goats be- [234]
cause of the milk, of which they drink a great deal, and melted
butter, "oudi," which they make.

They use all the hides: those of camels for sandals, 237
containers for butter, watering troughs, etc.; those of sheep 281
or goats for waterskins and the manufacture of tents, leather
clothes, etc. /64/

4: Benhazera--56a G-5 (1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

000

Aïn Redjem in the Botha Wadi
(Immidir)

233
312

Tuareg Watering Their Sheep at the Tin-Zaouaten Well

They use camel hair to make rope. They are fond of camel meat, and it is they who supply the markets of the Tidikelt with it. 237 283 262 439

There are very few cattle in the Ahaggar, barely thirty, and almost all these belong to Si Mokhammed ag Otsmane, of Tazerouk. They are used to draw water from the wells into the ar'erems. The pasture is scanty, and besides the cattle easily wear out their hooves on the rocks and stones. 233 492 [312]

In the Koudia, because of the cold which prevails there and the high altitude, there are many small turrets of dry stones, /65/ empty inside, in which the Tuareg confine lambs and kids at night to shelter them from the cold. 233 343

The Ahaggar do not have a large number of meharis, and they do not like to sell them, especially the good ones. Among themselves, to set the value of a mehari, they say, "Such a mehari is worth two, three, or four camels." All their meharis are trained to start at a gallop. The Tuareg has great patience with the training of his mehari and never mistreats it. He confines himself to persuading it by voice and foot, and it is perhaps for this reason that the Tuareg mehari is much more silent than the Arab mehari. 233 [435]

The foundation of the pastures of the Ahaggar is aremmas (Atriplex halimus, Salsolaceae). This plant is quite laxative. So when the year is bad and drought prevails, the Ahaggar are found emigrating toward the Adhar'. There are fine pastures of "had" (Cornulaca monacantha, Salsolaceae) in the south of Tin R'arhou, but there is no water. Moussa ag Amastane /66/ intends to have wells dug there and has requested our help and advice for this purpose. 139 233 [312 648]

As a rule the Tuareg let their camels out to pasture without herders, and they find them again at the well or by tracking, unless they entrust the herding to children or negroes. 233

/67/ A young camel is called "abal" without designating its age. A camel in general is called "amadjour," plural "imoudjar," or else "amiss," plural "imnass." A female is 192 233

4: Benhazera--57a G-5(1905), 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

133
341

In-Tekoufi Wadi (Tifedest)

4: Benhazera--57b G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

233
312

Tuareg Watering Their Sheep at the Tin-Zaouten Well

[192]

Names of Camels in Tamashek ((according to their age).	Names of Camels in Arabic (in the Tidikelt)
1st year: *Aouara.*	1 to 6 months: *H'ouar.*
2nd year: *Aledjoudh.*	6 mos. to 1 year: *Mekhloul.*
3rd year: *Aleggues.*	2 yrs.: *Ould lebvoun.*
4th year: *Aqnefoud.*	3 yrs.: *H'eugg.*
5th year: *H'air.*	4 yrs.: *Djedaâ.*
6th year: *Eg essine.*	5 yrs.: *Teni*
7th year: *Eg okkoz.*	6 yrs.: *Rebaâ.*
8th year: *Amessedis.*	7 yrs.: *Sedass.*
9th year: *Tahellat.*	8 yrs.: *Bou fettra.*
	9 yrs.: *Bou fettertine.*

called "talemt," plural "tillemine"; one that has calved within a year is "t-n-aouara"; one that is heavy with calf is "timettirout." A stud camel is called "amali," plural "imoulaï." [192] 233

The wool-bearing sheep does not exist in the Ahaggar. There is only the hairy sheep which the Tuareg call "ekrer," plural "ikraren." This sheep is covered with a pelt of long, rough hair, and its legs are longer than those of wool-bearing sheep. This is why it got the name ovis longipes, or sheep with long legs. The meat of this sheep is good and does not have the smell characteristic of the wool-bearing sheep of Algeria.

On the oases of the Tidikelt and Touat, only this kind of sheep is found.

As to the goats, they are of two kinds: those with long hair and those with short hair. They have no characteristics which distinguish them noticeably from the goats of Algeria.

Chapter X

Trade. Caravans. Market Prices

The Ahaggar Tuareg have trade relations with: 1. the Saharan Oases (Tidikelt and Touat) for dates, "chegga" (blue cotton), "malti" and "mahmoudi" (white cotton), "chach" (white muslin), haïks, smoking tobacco, "taba," and snuff, "chemma," tea, and sugar. /68/ 439

They bring in male and female camels, hairy sheep, goats, donkeys, melted butter, and sometimes products that they have brought back from the Aïr.

2. Aïr and Damergou. Having no industry, they buy all manufactured goods from the Aïr. Thus, by means of barter (aside from bechna) they acquire arms: spears, daggers, sabers,

and shields; mehari saddles, saddlebags in all shapes of carved and colored leather, little leather boxes, glossy blue cloth, "ilechchane," gandurahs with sleeves, black cloth ("kehal") for veils, and finally "tikamarine," or dry cheeses. In the Aïr saddles for horses are made, shaped like Mexican saddles and having round stirrups of heavy copper covered with leopard-skin (the Amenokal Moussa ag Amastane has one). 439

To the Aïr, and sometimes to the Damergou, they bring salt taken from the sebka of Amadr'or, "chegga bought in the Tidikelt, camels, donkeys, dates bought in the Tidikelt, "teheredjlé" (Hartemisia herbalba, Composeae), etc.

[133]

Crater of the Ouksem Volcano

3. Adhar and Niger, from which they get bechna, rice, sheep, and camels. They bring in salt, "chegga," and dates.

4. Ghat and Ghadames, but seldom. There they buy extra fine burnooses, sabers, sugar, tea, and "chegga." They bring in camels, waterskins, camel-hair ropes, and sheep. /69/

In addition, the people of the Tidikelt, especially the Ahl-Azzi, come to buy wheat and barley on the spot, which they gather into their "ar'erems."

The Tuareg of the Ahaggar would like very much to have, like the Azdjer, the protection of the big caravans which go from Tripoli to Ghat, to the Aïr, and to the Sudan. Thus they would hire out their camels to traders, and this would be an important source of revenue for them (the Aï-Loa'in already hire out their camels toGhat traders). They would very much like to see this current turned toward the Ahaggar, and we have the greatest interest in urging them on this course. 439 484 427

All the transactions that they make take place by means of barter. The most important profits that they realize result from barter carried on in the Aïr and the Niger with the salt, "chegga," and dates that they take there. 437 439

Market Prices in the Ahaggar

There are no set prices for meharis, or male or female camels. However, the prices for young camels are fixed and known. Thus: 435

A four-year-old camel, "aqnefoud," is worth 100 francs
" three-year-old " , "aleggues," " " " 75 "
" two-year-old " , "aledjoudh," " " " 50 "

For sheep and goats, the price basis is the goat, which is worth 3 mitqals, or 7.50 francs. A ewe is worth a goat and a half, or 11.25 francs, and a ram, two goats, or 15 francs.

A load of dates sells in the Ahaggar for 75 francs.

Barley sells for 1 franc per "guessaâ" or 60 francs for a load of 60 "guessaâs." Wheat is 1.25 francs per "guessaâ," or 75 francs per load.

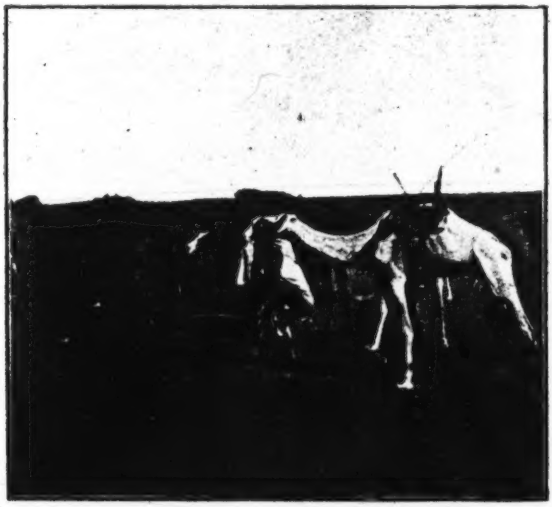
"Chegga" sells for 1.25 per meter. /70/

Melted butter is sold at 7 "mouddas" (a small wooden measure) for a goat, or 7.50 francs.

Market Prices in the Ahnet

One female camel, 50 to 60 mitqals (125 to 150 francs)
One load of dates, 30 mitqals (75 francs)
One sheep, 7.50 francs
One goat, 10 francs
Melted butter, 7 "mouddas" for 7.50 francs
One donkey, 25 francs

It is to be noted that the Tuareg fasten their camels one behind the other, Indian file, when they go on caravans. Thus they are more orderly than /71/ Arab caravans. In particular, fewer shouts, oaths, etc., are heard. The Tuareg caravan passes almost silently, without disorder, and this is all to the good. 233 484



Tuareg Caravan

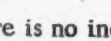
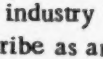
Chapter XI

Industry. Blacksmiths

There is no industry in the Ahaggar. They do not exist. 433
One cannot describe as an industry the minor arms repair that 326
a few blacksmiths make, nor the little wooden implements that the Tuareg make for their personal use.

We have seen above that the Ahaggar Tuareg buy all 326
their arms in the Aïr. They are not made at home. [439]

In the Ahnet I watched a blacksmith, Eg Ahnet, work. He was mending spears, sabers, and daggers, and he told me that he also made some jewelry when they were ordered from him. He asked for preserve cans to make his settings. His tools were quite primitive. He had:

A bellows, "tissedhi"  , made of two iron tubes set into a hollowed piece of wood onto which were fitted two waterskins open at the ends. These openings were held by rings and furnished with handles. The iron tubes blew the air into a clay furnace, "anefif"  , set before the fire. /72/

An anvil, "tahount"
Files, "azezoua"
Pliers, "ir'emdane"
A large hammer, "afadhis"
A small hammer, "tafadhist"
Tin-snips, "timouda"
A small hatchet, "tetaout" , which he had made from a bent branch.

Finally, a rake, "asekredh" , which he hafted with two wooden handles each time he wished to use it.

He also made locks and keys of copper. He complained [414]
of hard times and how the craft no longer prospered. Where [178]
was the age of the great raids, the expeditions from which arms were brought back to him to repair and sharpen! Where are we going? Times have really changed!

Many legends circulate about blacksmiths. They say that 326
because they work with iron and fire, they will go into the fire 565
of hell. They are scorned, first because they devote themselves
to a manual craft, a disgrace in the eyes of a Tuareg, and
secondly because it is said that they are of Negro origin. It is
also claimed that they were pagans and that their conversion
to Islamism is not sincere. They are also taken for sorcerers. [754]
The sheik Ben Djellas (see the Appendix /not translated/) says
of them: "Blacksmiths hate God and his Prophet, and they
betray God and his Prophet." Their ancestor was called
Tamamenet.

The blacksmith does not belong to any tribe. He goes
where he pleases, wherever he finds work. Sometimes he goes
to war, and he is said to fight well, but a noble Tuareg will not
cross swords with him.

In the Ahaggar a blacksmith is called "mr'allem," variation 326
of the Arab "maâlem." However, there is a word in Tamashek [192]
for him, "inedh," plural "inedhane," but it is not used. /73/

At Tamanrasset I was shown many ancient graves (of the [764]
"chouchat" shape) which, it seems, were the burial places of
a tribe of blacksmiths said to have been massacred and died of
starvation a very long time ago.

The gardens of the Ahaggar "ar'erems" are worked by the 241
Harratine of the Touat and the Tidilkelt, who bring their tools 312
with them. It is they also who dig the "foggaras," or covered 565
wells, and all the tools that they use come from the Saharan Oases.

Chapter XII

Agriculture. Ar'erems

While in all of the Ahnet no trace of agriculture is to be 241
found, however small, because of the scarcity of wells, whose 361
312

241 312 361

output is only enough to water the flocks, in the Ahaggar, on the contrary, a mountainous country where there is some water everywhere, a number of small villages called "ar'erem" ⵄⵔⵔⵉⵎ, plural "ir'ermane" ⵉⵄⵔⵔⵉⵎⴰⵏ, have been built.

312 565 361 463

Since the Tuareg, nobles or imr'ad, dislike all manual work, these villages could not have been built without the indispensible help of the Harratine of the Touat and the Tidikelt, whom the Tuareg call "Izeggar'en" ⵉⵣⵖⵖⴰⵔⵏ, meaning "mulattoes." Everything was made by the latter: the wells, /74/ "tounine," which are used for irrigation, as at Tazerouk; the "foggaras," or covered wells, "ifelane," and their irrigation canals as at Abalessa, Tit, and Tamanrasset; the fitting up of springs, as at Tadjemout. The Harratine made the gardens and became khammes of the Tuareg, landowners. They settled in these villages and there built huts of "diss" (Imperata cylindrica) or of "berdi" (Typha angustifolia) and little houses of baked earth.

342 824

241

The Harratine grow wheat, barley, and bechna in these gardens. These are the three essential crops, to which they add some vegetables: onions, kabouyas, or gourds, watermelons, and "guerroum" (a kind of long melon which is eaten green, like a cucumber, before it is ripe). Finally, at Tit they /75/ have planted some fine fig trees and a vine which yields a grape that seems delicious at this latitude. Similarly, at Abalessa, there are some vine slips and a fine palm.

Ideles (Koudia)

The gardens, or rather the fields, are enclosed by a hedge to prevent the depredations of the camels that graze free at night. But there are some that do not have this protective barrier, and the Harratine are forced to stand guard at night, turn, and turn about, lighting fires to drive the camels away from the crops.

4: Benhazera--64a G-5(1905) 1908 MS25 Tuareg MS25
Hoggar

137
291

A Fig Tree at Abalessa

241 Usually, there are six khammès per field, and each of
312 them has a right to water for one night and one day. The water, brought from the foggara, spreads into the "madjens," or reservoirs, as on the oases, there to be divided among the gardens by means of saguias, or irrigation canals.

[764]

Herhafok Region

In the Left Foreground an Ancient Grave in the Chouchat Form (Koudia)

241 The khammès receives as his pay:

1. A fifth of the crop
2. The barley which he sowed in the irrigation canals
3. A load of wheat in winter and a half load in summer,

for his personal consumption.

245 In the Ahaggar there are also small oases of palms which were planted by no one knows whom, for example, at Tibedjehine and at Silet (Ahaggar), at Djor'raf, Tafarakràk, and Teguift (Immidir). The Tuareg who own them leave them
[423] untended and are satisfied to go and gather the dates when they choose. These palms, which get no care, also have a great mass of dry djerids hanging to the ground, which makes it very difficult to climb them. Perhaps this is to prevent theft of the dates? /76/

From the fact that these palms, even though not cared for, produce dates which, if not of good quality, are still quite

edible, and considering also that there is a very fine palm at 245
Abalessa (which could become a splendid oasis since there is
no lack of water), one may ask if the creation of an oasis of
palms in the Ahaggar might not be tried with success. But the [438]
Ahl Azzi and all the inhabitants of the Tidikelt, who live
entirely on the sale of their dates to the Tuareg, have persuaded

[361]

Haratine Gourbi at Ideles
(Koudia)

the latter to the contrary, that the climate of their country is
not suited to growing palms. Besides, the Ahaggar do not in [185]
the least wish to undertake plantations from which one could
expect no profit for several years, and they prefer to stay with
growing wheat, barley, and bechna, which pay at once.

The Amenokal Moussa ag Amastane, realizing that the era 643
of raids will soon be ended forever, sees that it will be necessary 185
to demand from the soil the means of subsistence which raids 176
formerly procured. So he has announced his intention of having
a foggara dug at "Endid" and of having gardens made there,
and his example will very probably be followed. This is an
undertaking which will certainly be encouraged and supported,
and which shows the slow evolution which is beginning to take
place among the Tuareg, in the best interests of peace and
civilization.

Chapter XIII

Ancient Graves. Upright Stones

Ancient graves. Almost everywhere, in the Ahnet, Adhar', Ahaggar, Immidir, and even on the banks of the wadis that cross Tanezrouft, are found many ancient graves shaped either like a truncated cone, or "chouchat," or like a little turret, or "bazina," like those found everywhere in North Africa. 172 764

I saw one, however, at Tamanrasset (right next to the grave of the Tamenokalt Taber'ourt oult Akhalakham of the Imanan) which had a special shape. It was a pile of stones in the shape of a rectangular parallelepiped, four meters long by one meter wide, and one meter high. 172 173 764

The Tuareg say that these graves, which they call "adebni," plural "idebnane" (a word which seems to be derived from the Arab word "beni," building), are those of the "Izabbaren" [192] ⵉⵣⴰⴱⴱⴰⵔⴻⵏ. Then, too, this word in Tamashek means "ogres" and in the singular is "zabbar" ⵣⴰⴱⴱⴰⵔ, "ogre." The Ahaggar and the Ta'itoq refuse to admit that these were perhaps their ancestors at the time of paganism who had graves of this kind. "The Izabbaren," they say, "have nothing in common with us. They are not our ancestors." It was for this reason that Professor Gautier could explore some of these graves without opposition on their part.

Meanwhile, there is also another kind of grave which still has a circular shape but with the "chouahed," or markers, customary with all Moslems, while the "chouchat," or "bazina," graves are without them. This kind of grave is more unusual. It seems to be a form intermediary between the "Izabbaren" graves and the present graves. 172 764

On the other hand, the Tuareg will show you the grave of Tin /78/ Hinane, the ancestress from whom they claim to be descended, which is located at the junction of the Tefirt wadi 172 173 764

and the Abalessa wadi. Now, this grave has the shape of an enormous circular wall and is surrounded by other graves of the "chouchat" shape which are those of Tin Hinane's servants. Beside her grave is that of Takamat, the woman whom the Kel Ahnet claim as their ancestress. All these graves resemble those of the "izabbaren" so closely as to be confusing. Why do the Tuareg disclaim these while they acknowledge those of Tin Hinane, Takamat, and their servants? 172 173 764

We saw in the chapter "Superstitions, Beliefs" that the Tuareg go to consult the Izzabaren graves to obtain news of those absent. 769 787

In the Tafidjiq wadi (about four hours' walk from Ideles) there is a grave which is the object of great veneration on the

[342]

Harratine Huts at Ideles
(Koudia)

part of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is that of Adjadj Alemine (probably the missionary who converted them to Islamism; see the chapter on the origin of the Tuareg /not translated/). The Ahaggar say that this Adjadj Alemine was a marabout, a saint, and they call on him in their prayers when they are in trouble or grief, as the Arabs, under the same circumstances, call on Sidi Abdelkader el Djillali. I have not seen his grave, but I was told that it has "chouahed" like all Moslem graves. [797 174]

Upright stones. Following the directions of the guide Deguemma ag Chikat of the Adjouh-n-Taheli, I found, in the Koudia of the Ahaggar, a place where there was a collection of some ten upright stones of which only one remained /79/ 172

standing. The others had fallen, and one could definitely see 172
the marks of the holes into which they had been set, as well as
of the stones placed at the base to hold them erect.

The stone that remains erect is covered on one side with [532]
symbols cut deeply into the stone, next to others which are al-
most effaced. It is about 2.60 meters high and about 25 cm.
wide on each of its four sides, which are smoothed and polished.

The other stones that are fallen to the ground have about the
same dimensions, and one of them also has engraved inscriptions.

I took rubbings of the inscriptions cut into the stone still
standing.

Near by in the rocks of the footpath by which it is reached,
I also saw some engraved drawings of which I also took rubbings.

The location of these stones is right next to the trail from
Tiltekine, not far from the spring of the In Dalladj wadi, about
1,700 meters in altitude (in the Koudia of the Ahaggar), on
the road which leads from Tamanrasset to the sebkha of
Amadr'or, by way of Ideles.

I questioned the guide and the Tuareg who know these
stones, and of course they could give me no explanation for
them. "We call them the standing stones, 'ebdaden' 1 M
. Those of old made them," they told me. "It is very
old. That is all we know."